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TELEFOL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

The present paper is a continuation of the statement of the structure of the Telefol language, which commenced with *Telefol Noun Phrases* and *Telefol Verb Phrases*.¹ This paper presents in some detail the internal structure of Telefol Clauses so as to show the contrasts between the various Clause Types.

The basic Clause Types are Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, Equational, and five contrasting Sub-Types of Quotative Clauses.² Four of these basic types (Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary) may be modified by a change in the Predicate and correlated changes elsewhere in the Clause, to indicate benefactive. All of the basic Clause Types except the Equational may be modified by changes in the Predicate correlated with differences of external distribution, to indicate dependence or independence and same or different subject from that of the following Clause.

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A_q</i> :	Noun Phrase Quantifier Unit
<i>B</i> :	Beneficiary Unit
<i>C</i> :	Complementary Clause
<i>CB</i> :	Benefactive Complementary Clause
<i>Co</i> :	Complement Unit
<i>Dn</i> :	Destination Unit
<i>E</i> :	Equational Clause
<i>I</i> :	Intransitive Clause
<i>IB</i> :	Benefactive Intransitive Clause
<i>L</i> :	Location Unit
<i>M</i> :	Motion Clause
<i>Ma</i> :	Manner Unit
<i>MB</i> :	Benefactive Motion Clause
<i>N</i> :	Noun Phrase Nucleus

<i>Nm:</i>	Noun Phrase Number Unit
<i>Nn:</i>	Noun
<i>O:</i>	Object Unit
<i>P:</i>	any Predicate Unit
<i>Pc:</i>	Complementary Predicate Unit
<i>Pcb:</i>	Benefactive Complementary Predicate Unit
<i>Pe:</i>	Equational Predicate Unit
<i>Pi:</i>	Intransitive Predicate Unit
<i>Pib:</i>	Benefactive Intransitive Predicate Unit
<i>Pm:</i>	Motion Predicate Unit
<i>Pmb:</i>	Benefactive Motion Predicate Unit
<i>Pq:</i>	Quotative Predicate Unit
<i>Pqi:</i>	Direct Imperative Quotative Predicate Unit
<i>Pr:</i>	Noun Phrase Person Unit
<i>Pt:</i>	Transitive Predicate Unit
<i>Ptb:</i>	Benefactive Transitive Predicate Unit
<i>Q:</i>	any Quote Unit
<i>Qd:</i>	Desiderative Quote Unit
<i>Qn:</i>	Naming Quote Unit
<i>Qp:</i>	Perceptive Quote Unit
<i>Qs:</i>	Saying Quote Unit
<i>R:</i>	Referent Unit ³
<i>S:</i>	Subject Unit
<i>Se:</i>	Equational Subject Unit
<i>T:</i>	Transitive Clause
<i>TB:</i>	Benefactive Transitive Clause
<i>Ti:</i>	Time Unit
<i>W:</i>	Accompaniment Unit (with...)

1.0 THE CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS

In all Telefol Clauses the PREDICATE is obligatory. All Clause Types other than Quotative Sub-Types are determined by the form of the Verb occurring in the Predicate, and by at least one other diagnostic clause-level unit. A diagnostic unit is one which helps to identify the Clause Type in which it occurs. Its occurrence is not necessarily obligatory, however. A number of optional, non-diagnostic clause-

level units may also occur in a Clause, though no more than three optional units have been observed in a single Clause, and most Clauses have just one, or none at all. In text, the most commonly occurring unit other than Predicate is Object, and the commonest Clause Type is Transitive.

1.1 THE OCCURRENCE OF UNITS IN THE CLAUSE

Table A illustrates the possible occurrences of the various units within the contrastive Clause Types. Obligatory occurrence is indicated by (+), optional occurrence by (±), and significant non-occurrence by (-).

Table A

CLAUSE TYPE ⁴	CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS								
	<i>Ti</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>Q</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>P</i>
Transitive (<i>T</i>)	±	±	±	±	-	± <i>O</i>	-	±	+ <i>Pt</i>
Transitive Benefactive (<i>TB</i>)	±	±	±	±	±	± <i>O</i>	-	±	+ <i>Ptb</i>
Intransitive (<i>I</i>)	±	±	-	±	-	-	-	±	+ <i>Pi</i>
Intransitive Benefactive (<i>IB</i>)	±	±	-	±	±	-	-	±	+ <i>Pib</i>
Motion (<i>M</i>)	±	±	±	-	-	± <i>Dn</i>	-	±	+ <i>Pm</i>
Motion Benefactive (<i>MB</i>) ⁵	±	±	±	-	-	± <i>Dn</i>	-	±	+ <i>Pmb</i>
Complementary (<i>C</i>)	±	±	-	±	-	± <i>Co</i>	-	±	+ <i>Pc</i>
Complementary Benefactive (<i>CB</i>) ⁵	±	±	-	±	-	± <i>Co</i>	-	±	+ <i>Pcb</i>
Equational (<i>E</i>)	±	± <i>Se</i>	-	-	-	-	-	±	+ <i>Pe</i>
Perceptive Quotative ⁶	±	±	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Qp</i>	-	+ <i>Pq</i>
Saying Quotative	±	±	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Qs</i>	-	+ <i>Pq</i>
Desiderative Quotative	±	±	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Qd</i>	-	+ <i>Pq</i>
Direct Imperative Quotative	-	±	-	-	-	-	+ <i>Qd</i>	-	+ <i>Pqi</i>
Naming Quotative	-	±	-	-	-	+ <i>R</i>	+ <i>Qn</i>	-	+ <i>Pq</i>

The relative order of the units as shown in the table is the predominant one. However, the relative order of Subject, Beneficiary and Object (or Object-like units) is not fixed. In particular, Beneficiary sometimes follows Object. Object can also precede Subject. Time has not been observed in other than first position or immediately following *S ± W*.

Accompaniment (*W*) immediately follows Subject (*S*), if present. The occurrence of *S* is not necessary to the occurrence of *W*. The occurrence of *S + W* may be distinguished from a co-ordinate construction occurring in the Subject. The latter has **soó** 'and', 'with' following each co-ordinated item; the former lacks **soó** following the first item, which may have Noun Phrase Laterals, particularly Person, occurring with it instead.⁷ In a Clause containing *W*, the person-number suffix of the Verb in the Predicate may be in agreement with the Subject alone, or in agreement with *S + W* together (see section 2.1). In the former case, the person-number suffix is additional evidence of the unit status of *W*. However, a Kin Quantifier (*A₁*) may follow *S + W* as though they were a single unit:

beéyó (*S*: he) **aaniing soó** (*W*: with his uncle) **úlím** (*A₁*: man-and-child)
'he with his uncle'

mán tanum beéyó (*S*: the lad) **oókén soó** (*W*: with his mother) **áfaat**
(*A₁*: woman-and-child) 'the lad with his mother'

beéyó (*S*: he) **ilámí kalél soó** (*W*: with his wife) **ákám** (*A₁*: husband-and-wife) 'he with his wife'

Dóoe soolé mínte Dáabit soó íyó (*S*: Joy and David) **oókén soolé aaláb soó** (*W*: with their mother and father) **úlímal** (*A₁*: family) 'Joy and David with their mother and father'

1.2 PREDICATE UNITS

In all Clause Types except the Equational, the Predicate is manifested by a Verb. In the Equational Clause the Predicate is manifested by a Noun Phrase, which is not subject to the modifications of the Predicates of other Clause Types.

1.21 VERBAL PREDICATES IDENTIFIED BY STEM CLASS

Most Verbs are transitive, and so constitute the major syntactic Verb class. A Transitive Clause is also distinguished by the optional occurrence of an Object.

The other syntactic Verb classes are smaller: Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, and Quotative.

INTRANSITIVE VERBS manifest the Predicate of an Intransitive Clause. This syntactic class consists of all the members of two morphologically defined classes of Verbs together with a few other miscellaneous Verbs:

- (a) **boonamin** 'disappear'⁸
daanamin 'dawn'
kaanamin 'die'
keenamin 'burn', 'shine'
tábanamin 'shelter'

toonamin 'sit'
waanamin 'hide (oneself)'

(b) Verbs derived from Adjectives and Nouns, e.g.

afálikénánamin	'enlarge'	from afálikén	'big'
bínímanamin	'be finished'	from bíním	'none'
dabómánamin	'be lopped'	from dabóm	'head'
damanamin	'mature'	from dam	'body'
diilanamin	'cool off'	from diil	'cold'
duumanamin	'fade'	from duum	'faded, brown'
katíbánamin	'diminish'	from katíb	'small'
máfákanamin	'deteriorate'	from máfák	'bad'
yámanamin	'ripen'	from yám	'ripe'

(c) Miscellaneous Verbs, e.g.

ímúnin 'doze'
mínán'kálin 'be raining'
oólmin 'shout'

MOTION VERBS, which co-occur with the distinctive optional clause-level unit, Destination, manifest a Motion Predicate. Beside being a syntactic class, Motion Verbs are all members of a distinctive morphological stem-class, those whose stems terminate in **-em** in the Customary Continuative form, and are followed by the **-on** and **-ontema** suffixial variants of Potential and Future Tenses in the Punctiliar Aspect.⁹ They include:

ábemin	'do, go abruptly'
am'íñemin	'go home', 'go into house'
bíñemin	'run away'
daákñemin	'leave, depart, go away, escape'
télemin	'come'
teémñemin	'go down, set' (sun, moon)
tíñemin	'walk, go past, fly, flow'
únemin	'go'
yákñemin	'move out of the way'

There are just three Verbs which occur as Predicate of a COMPLEMENTARY CLAUSE, in which the other diagnostic unit is an optional Complement. These are

nin	'be', 'reside'
tébebin	'become', 'appear', 'happen', 'be'
keemin	'be', 'become', 'do'

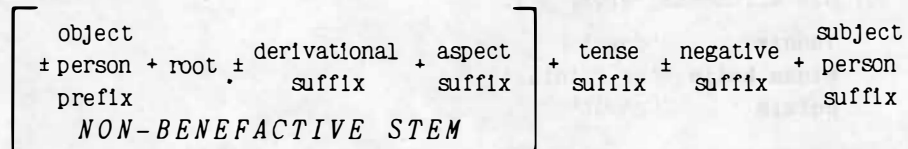
The QUOTATIVE VERB, **akan'kalin** 'say', 'want', 'see', is the only Verb occurring as Predicate of all Quotative Clauses.

1.22 VERBAL PREDICATES MODIFIED BY INFLECTION

Just as the Clause Type may be partially identified by the Verb stem-class as described above, so also it may be further identified by some of the affixes of the Verb, whether or not the other diagnostic units are present in a particular manifestation of a Clause.

Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary Clauses may be modified for benefactive. In a Clause so modified the benefactive form of the Verb involves an expansion of its stem and this is correlated with the addition of an optional clause-level unit, the Beneficiary, or with special features in one of the other optional clause-level units such as Subject or Object.

The independent non-benefactive Verb has the general morphological shape:

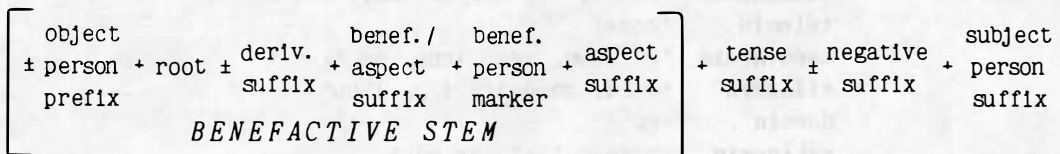


for example,

bóko-l-antém-á (*Pt*: talk/punctiliar-punctiliar-will-he) (*T*) 'he will talk'

báka-m-antém-á (*Pt*: talk/continuative-continuative-will-he) (*T*) 'he will be talking'

The corresponding benefactive form of the Verb consists of a complex benefactive stem which differs from the non-benefactive stem by containing in addition a benefactive/aspect suffix and a beneficiary person marker:



There is a phonological juncture before the beneficiary person marker, and this is marked by (') in the following examples, which have been written as single words:¹⁰

boko-b-'néé-l-antém-á (*Ptb*: talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-punctiliar-will-he) (*TB*) 'he will tell me'

boko-b-'ná-m-antém-á (*Ptb*: talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-continuative-will-he) (*TB*) 'he will tell me'¹¹

bákaa-Ø-'nee-m-antém-á (*Ptb*: talk/continuative-benefactive/continuative-me-continuative-will-he) (*TB*) 'he will be telling me'

The equivalent dependent forms replace the tense suffix by one of the dependent suffixes, for both non-benefactive and benefactive.

The Quotative Clause Sub-Types do not occur in the benefactive. But the Predicate of an associated clause may occur in the benefactive, the beneficiary person marker then being in agreement with the prefix of the Quotative Verb **akan' kalin**.¹²

A more far-reaching modification is indicated by the occurrence of the Homopersonal Dependent suffix **-nVI** and the Heteropersonal Dependent suffixes **-bVI**, **-sVI**, or rarely **-kVI**.¹³ One of these indicates that a particular Clause is Dependent, in contrast to an Independent Clause which contains instead in its Predicate a Verb marked by a tense suffix. The Dependent Clause, marked as above in its Predicate, is usually non-final in a sequence of Clauses in a Sentence; the Independent Clause is the final Clause of a sequence being affirmed, negated, or questioned. The Homopersonal suffix indicates that the subject of the following Clause is the same as that of the Dependent Clause; the Heteropersonal suffix indicates a change of subject in the following Clause. This suffix is in agreement with the Subject Unit of each Clause, if present, and with the subject-person suffixes of the two Predicates. The one partial exception to this agreement is the case in which the subject of the Dependent Clause includes the subject of the following Clause, in which case the Homopersonal suffix is used. All Clause Types except Equational may occur in either Dependent or Independent form.

1.3 NON-PREDICATE UNITS

The various distinct non-predicate clause-level units are: Time (*Ti*), Subject (*S*), Equational Subject (*Se*), Accompaniment (*W*), Location (*L*), Beneficiary (*B*), Object (*O*), Destination (*Dn*), Complement (*Co*), Referent (*R*), Quote (*Q*), and Manner (*Ma*). All of these are optional except Quote. Of these, Object, Destination, Complement, Referent, and Quote are diagnostic of the Clause Type in which they occur - Transitive, Motion, Complementary, Naming Quotative, and all Quotatives respectively. Similarly, Beneficiary is diagnostic of the benefactive modification of the Transitive and Intransitive Types.

With two exceptions, all of the non-predicate clause-level units are manifested by a Noun Phrase, the particular Noun Phrase Type often being diagnostic of the unit in which it occurs. The two exceptions are the Manner Unit and the Quote.

The occurrence of the various Noun Phrase Types in clause-level units is shown in Table B.¹⁴ Some of these clause-level units contrast with one another internally: in the Phrase Types which manifest them, and/or in some of their components, such as Noun sub-class and Pronoun series.¹⁵ They also contrast with one another externally: in their position within the Clause, and in the Clause Types in which

they occur.

However, *S*, *Se*, *B*, *O*, *R*, *Co*, and *Pe* may all be manifested by a General Noun Phrase, so may not contrast internally, but such ambiguities may usually be resolved. *B* is usually marked by a *-mi* series Pronoun. *S*, *O*, and *B* may co-occur in a Clause and are not fixed in their preferred relative order. But they are then distinguished by agreement of each unit with an affix in the Verb of the Predicate (see section 2). *Se* and *Pe* are fixed in their relative order. *R* and *Co* occur in Clause Types where confusion is not likely to occur.¹⁶

Parentheses in Table B indicate limited, rare occurrence.

Table B

NOUN PHRASE TYPE	CLAUSE-LEVEL UNITS												
	<i>S</i>	<i>Se</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>Dn</i>	<i>Co</i>	<i>Pe</i>	<i>Ti</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>Ma</i>	
General Noun Phrase	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					
Personal Name Phrase	x	x	x	x	x			x					
Possessor Nucleus Phrase	(x)			(x)			x	x					
Time Phrase	(x)			(x)					x				
Destination Phrase						x							
Instrument Phrase												x	
Direction Phrase						x							
Location Phrase												x	
soó Phrase								x		x			
bíním Phrase								x					
Descriptive Phrase							x	x					

Occurring in the Manner Unit is a class of ADVERBS, which includes the following:

akól	'slowly, gently'	eekub	'quickly'
aaltamsó	'again'	féén	'really, truly'
amiit	'permanently, definitely'	fiyaab	'slowly'
asok	'again'	foómtuub)	'loudly, strongly,
átin	'really'	foóm)	'firmly'
baán	'quickly' ?	íngét	'quickly'
bisíl	'quickly'	kuun	'temporarily', 'for a little while'
bisob	'for no reason'	maaksó	'again', 'more'

múngkúb	'similarly'	támbál	'well'
nangkaal	'slowly'	tele	'thoroughly'
oongífét	'quickly'	túluun	'really, actually'
oongsákám	'quickly'	yúkút	'quickly'
séeng	'quickly'	yúkúsákam	'quickly'
suún) 'always'	yúut	'quickly'
suúnkúb			

Careful checking indicates that all of the words for 'quickly' except **baán** are near synonyms, and antonyms of **fiyaab** 'slowly'.

These Adverbs most frequently occur singly in the Manner Unit, but may occur more than one at a time. When a sequence of Adverbs manifests the Manner Unit, the following characteristics appear.

(a) The order in which they occur is not fixed, though loose preferences of order appear. **múngkúb**, **fiyaab**, **yúut**, and **asok** in particular change order very freely.

(b) However, the following in particular do show a tendency to occur first: **baán**, **féén**, **támbál**, and **múngkúb**. The following show a tendency to occur last: **túluun**, **foómtuub**, **bisíl**, **yúkút**, **yúkúsákam**.

(c) Most of the Adverbs apart from antonyms seem to co-occur, but **túluun** seems more restricted than the others.

The Manner Unit may also be manifested by an Instrument Phrase. This is a restricted type of General Noun Phrase.¹⁷ An Adverb and an Instrument Phrase may co-occur in the Manner Unit, their relative order being interchangeable. This co-occurrence parallels the co-occurrence of two Adverbs in the Manner Unit.

ními kalél booyó (*O*: my wife) **foómtuub kúlmiim tuub** (*Ma*: hard with fist) **úng kwaálí** (*Pt*: I-hit-her) (*T*) 'I hit my wife hard with my fist'

or alternatively, **ními kalél booyó** (*O*) **kúlmiim tuub foómtuub** (*Ma*: with fist hard) **úng kwaálí** (*Pt*).

Two further alternative analyses of the status of the Instrument Phrase are possible. Both alternative analyses involve an Instrument Unit which is distinct from the Manner Unit. (a) The Instrument Unit could be regarded as an additional optional unit in Transitive Clauses.¹⁷ (b) The Instrument Unit could be regarded as an optional unit diagnostic of an Instrument Clause Type. This Clause Type would also be characterized by a restricted set of Verbs in the Predicate, those involving a gross physical transitive action, e.g. break, hit, kick, bite, cut, make, pull, wipe, plait, tie, bore (hole), pick out, squash, pull up, paint, and the like. Such semi-cerebral actions as think, see, talk are excluded. However, it has not been easy to delimit this group of Verbs since the elicitation of Verb-Instrument collocations is limited by the ingenuity of the linguist. Both of

these alternative analyses have been rejected as more complex than the first analysis presented above.

Whereas the Manner Unit most frequently immediately precedes the Predicate, it may occur in any one of the positions shown in parentheses:

T *S* *W* (*Ma*) *L* (*Ma*) *B* (*Ma*) *O* (*Ma*) *P*

and in analogous positions in the other Clause Types.

The Quote, an obligatory unit occurring only in Quotative Clauses, is manifested by a whole sentence, from a single ejaculation or one-word Predicate to a sequence of Clauses, terminating with a Quotative Marker, **oó** or **kalaá**.¹⁸

2. AGREEMENT

There is agreement of person and number between Subject and Predicate, sometimes between Object and Predicate, and between Beneficiary and Predicate. There is also temporal agreement between Time and Predicate.

The Nucleus of a Noun Phrase as Subject, Object, Beneficiary, or Possessor may be singular or plural. Plural number may be indicated by one or more of the following:

(a) the plural suffix **-al** on Kin Nouns, Personal Name Nouns, and a few other Human Nouns,¹⁹

(b) the occurrence of a Quantifier (*A*₁),²⁰

(c) co-ordination in the Nucleus,⁷

(d) the Lateral Number,²¹

(e) one of the Post-Demonstratives (*D*₂) **kalíb**, **kulíb**, or **bilíb** 'those'.²²

In addition, the Noun Phrase may contain a Person Unit, manifested by a Pronoun whose stem exhibits one of the following 8 distinctions of person and number:

1 sing.	'I, me'	ní- ~ ná-
1 plural	'we, us'	nú- ~ nó-
2 sing. masc.	'you'	káb-
2 sing. fem.	'you'	kúb-
2 plural	'you'	íb-
3 sing. masc.	'he, him'	í- ~ yá- , keé- , beé- ²³
3 sing. fem.	'she, her'	ú- ~ ó- , koó- , boó-
3 plural	'they, them'	í-

2.1 AGREEMENT OF SUBJECT AND PREDICATE

The finite Predicate exhibits the following 6 distinctions of

person and number by suffixation:

		Set A	Set B	Set C
1 sing.	'I'	-í	-ii	-án ~ -ón
2 sing.	'you'	-áb	-aláb	-ál ~ -aal
3 sing. masc.	'he'	-á	-e	-ák ~ -ók
3 sing. fem.	'she'	-ú	-o ~ -uu	-úk ~ -uúk
1 plural	'we'	-úb	-ulúb	-úm ~ -uúm
2/3 plural	'you/they'	-íb	-ilíb	-ín ~ -iín

Normally the Subject and Predicate agree in person and number:

- beéyó** (S: he) **úná** (Pm: he-went) (M) 'he left'²⁴
beéyó (S: he) **weéng** (O: talk) **bókobá** (Pt: he-talked) (T) 'he talked'
níyó (S: I) **seéb** (Dn: forest) **úní** (Pm: I-went) (M) 'I went to the forest'
tanúm bilíb iyó (S: those men) **weéng** (O: talk) **bákán' bilíb** (Pt: they-are-talking) (T) 'the men are talking'

However there are two circumstances in which modification of agreement may occur. In each of these the Subject may be regarded as a collective unit and co-occur with a singular suffix in the Predicate, or as a plurality and co-occur with a plural suffix in the Predicate.

Firstly, a Phrase as Subject containing a Human Noun and a Quantifier in the Nucleus may have the shape:

Nífinim úlímal (N: (Nn: Nífinim A₄: family)) **kábó** (Pr: you-sing.masc.)
 'Nífinim and his family, you'

The Predicate relating to this Subject may agree with the Pronoun in the Subject, and have a second person singular suffix (e.g. **-áb** 'you-sing. '), or it may agree with the total semantic configuration including **úlímal** 'family', and have a second person plural suffix (e.g. **-íb** 'you-pl. '). The Subject Phrase, with the same meaning, may have the alternate shape:

Nífinim úlímal (N: Nífinim and family) **íbó** (Pr: you-pl.)

In this case the Predicate will be in complete agreement with the Subject (e.g. **-íb** 'you-pl. ').

Nífinim úlímal kábó (S: Nífinim and family, you-sing.masc.) **unóntemáb**
 (Pm: you-sing.-will-go) (M) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

Nífinim úlímal kábó (S: Nífinim and family, you-sing.masc.) **unóntemíb**
 (Pm: you-pl.-will-go) (M) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

Nífinim úlímal íbó (S: Nífinim and family, you-pl.) **unóntemíb** (Pm:
 you-pl.-will-go) (M) 'Nífinim, you and your family will go'

unáng alíkaab (S: woman all) **túlú** (Pm: she-came) (M) 'all the women came'

The other modifying circumstance is a Clause involving an Accompaniment Unit (*W*). Whether or not the Clause contains a Subject Unit (e.g. *níyó* 'I') immediately preceding *W*, the presence of a *soó* Phrase as Accompaniment (e.g. *kabsó* 'with-you-sing.masc.') permits two alternatives in the Predicate. *P* may agree with the Subject alone (e.g. *-ón* 'I will'), or with *S + W* (e.g. *-úm* 'we will'), thus:

níyó (*S*: I) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you) *unón* (*Pm*: I-will-go) (*M*) 'I'll go with you'

níyó (*S*: I) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you) *unúm* (*Pm*: we-will-go) (*M*) 'I'll go with you'

Kéeni beeyó (*S*: Keeni) *ímí kalél sinó* (*W*: with his wife) *ímán úyó* (*O*: food) *fuube* (*Pt*: he-is-cooking) (*T*) 'Keeni is cooking food with his wife'

kábó (*S*: you-sing.masc.) *wantab soó* (*W*: with whom) *únáb* (*Pm*: you-sing.-went) (*M*) 'who did you go with'

wantab ítá (*S*: who) *kabsó* (*W*: with-you-masc.sing.) *úníb* (*Pm*: you-pl.-went) (*M*) 'who went with you'

2.2 AGREEMENT OF OBJECT AND PREDICATE

About 20% of all Transitive Verbs indicate object by prefixation. These prefixed Verbs are divided into several classes according to the particular set of prefixes they take. These sets of prefixes involve a varying number of person-number distinctions, as may be illustrated by the following four representative sets, although the majority of Verbs show a five-way distinction like the third column below.

1 sing.	'me'		na-	na-	namd-
2 sing.	'you'		ka-	ka-	kamd-
1/2/3 pl.	'us/you/them'			i-	imd-
3 masc. sing.	'him/it'	} d-	}	} du-	d-
3 masc. pl.	'them'				
3 fem. sing.	'her/IT'	} k-	} a-	} ku-	k-
3 fem. pl.	'THEM'				

A Predicate involving one of these Verbs agrees with the Object Unit to the extent of the number of distinctions available for the particular Verb. The Object Unit may be marked by a *-mí* series Pronoun before one of these object-marked Predicates, in place of the more usual Pronoun series such as *-ó* and *-tá*.

beeyó (*S*: he) *nímí* (*O*: me) *náng koó lá* (*Pt*: he-hit-me) (*T*) 'he hit me'

beeyó (*S*: he) *mán ítá* (*O*: the boy) *áng koó lá* (*Pt*: he-hit-him) (*T*) 'he hit the boy'

beeyó (*S*: he) *mán ítá* (*O*: the boy) *áng koob' néelá* (*Ptb*: he-hit-him-for-me) (*TB*) 'he hit the boy for me'

beéyó (S: he) **nú mí** (O: us) **í fí linbe** (Pt: he-is-sorry-for-us/you/them)
(T) 'he is sorry for us'

beéyó (S: he) **í mí** (O: him/them) **í fí linbe** (Pt: he-is-sorry-for-us/you/them)
(T) 'he is sorry for them'

2.3 AGREEMENT INVOLVING BENEFACTIVE PREDICATES

The beneficiary person marker in a benefactive Predicate (*Ptb*, *Pib*, *Pmb*, *Pcb*) shows the following three-way contrast:

'**nee-** ~ '**na-** 'for me'
'**kee-** ~ '**ka-** 'for you-sing.'
'**ee-** ~ \emptyset 'for him/her/us/you-pl./them'

This person marker agrees in person and number, to the extent of this three-way contrast, with the Beneficiary Unit if there is one. If there is no Beneficiary Unit, it may agree with the Possessor within any clause-level unit manifested by a Noun Phrase.

The Beneficiary Unit occurs in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses only. It appears, however, that not all Transitive and Intransitive Verbs co-occur with the Beneficiary Unit. Those which do so, occur in the benefactive form far more frequently than those which do not. Some of the Verbs characteristically occurring in benefactive form and having a Beneficiary Unit associated with them are:

(a) Transitive:

bákaa' eemin	'tell him'	kafal' éemin)	'show him'
		kuku' eemin)	
bákkaa' eemin	'miss him'	oksam ukaa' eemin	'wash him'
kúkaa' eemin }	'give him'	úkaa' eemin	'cut and give him a share of meat'
kúbkaa' eemin)			

(b) Intransitive:

oól' eemin	'call him'	doóng dákaa' eemin	'help him'
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The Beneficiary Unit is manifested by a General Noun Phrase. This commonly and characteristically contains a Pronoun of the *-mí* series, though a Pronoun of the *-ó*, *-tá*, or *-kal* series also occasionally occurs. Very occasionally there is no Pronoun. The following examples show agreement with Beneficiary in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses.

mufekmufek booyó (O: those things) **waámí** (B: who?) **moób' mantémáb** (Ptb: you-will-buy-for-him) (TB) 'who are you buying those things for'

níyó (S: I) **kaábák māk** (O: an axe) **tanúm beémí** (B: the man) **koób' mí**
(Ptb: I-gave-to-him) (TB) 'I gave the man an axe'

oókén útá (S: her mother) **mán** (B: child) **kafal' éebo** (Ptb: she-is-showing-it-to-her) (TB) 'her mother is showing it to her'

- sáng booyó** (*O*: the story) **unáng tanúm ímí** (*B*: the people) **bokob' éelá**
 (*Ptb*: he-told-them) (*TB*) 'he told the people the story'
- tanúm iyó** (*S*: the men) **íkkum beeyó** (*B*: their friends) **doóng dákaa' eemin**
 (*Pib*: customarily-help-them) (*IB*) 'one man helps another'
- meet Nífinim beeyó** (*S*: Nifinim up there) **yáng mán beémí** (*B*: that child
 along there) **oól' eebe** (*Pib*: he-is-calling-him) (*IB*) 'Nifinim is
 calling that child'

The other type of benefactive agreement is far more versatile. It may occur with any benefactive Predicate (*Ptb*, *Pib*, *Pmb*, *Pcb*). The Predicate may be in agreement with a Possessor in any clause-level unit manifested by a General Noun Phrase. The Possessor is itself a General Noun Phrase, which usually terminates with a *-mí* series Pronoun as Person. It occurs within the Nucleus of the Phrase, preceding the Noun Head.²⁵ Note that the presence of a Possessor in any clause-level unit does not require a benefactive Predicate plus this type of agreement. But the presence of a benefactive Predicate normally does involve agreement.

The following examples illustrate this type of agreement, the unit containing the relevant Possessor being indicated in each case.

- S* - **nímí kaábák fúk** (*S*: my axe handle) **kún** (*Co*: strong) **tebeb' néebú**
 (*Pcb*: it-has-become-for-me) (*CB*) 'my axe handle has hardened'
- S* - **beémí káyaam** (*S*: his dog) **kaaneb' éelú** (*Pib*: it-died-for-him)
 (*IB*) 'his dog died'
- S* - **bilíb ímí aket uyó** (*S*: their thoughts) **támh'laneb' múk** (*Pib*: it-
 will-become-good-for-them) (*IB*) 'they will be satisfied'
- O* - **tanúm māk ímí at** (*O*: a man's song) **kwa' eebilíb** (*Ptb*: they-are-
 singing-to-him) (*TB*) 'they are singing about/to a man'
- O* - **oókén úmí koong sook** (*O*: his mother's pig rope) **íla' eebe** (*Ptb*: he-
 is-making-for-her) (*TB*) 'he is making a pig rope for his mother'
- Dn* - **nímí kaábák fínang** (*Dn*: up to my axe) **uneb' néelá** (*Pmb*: he-went-
 for-me) (*MB*) 'he went for my axe'
- Dn* - **nímí ílángdiib** (*Dn*: my garden) **teleb' náma** (*Pmb*: he-came-for-me)
 (*MB*) 'he came to my garden'
- Co* - **beeyó** (*S*: he) **númí kamókím** (*Co*: our headman) **keeb' éesá** (*Pcb*: he-
 is-for-us) (*CB*) 'he is our headman'
- Co* - **íse booyó** (*S*: that) **nulúmí ookok alíkaab** (*Co*: our responsibility
 entirely) **keeb' éesú** (*Pcb*: it-is-for-us) (*CB*) 'it is our respon-
 sibility entirely'
- L* - **níyó** (*S*: I) **fuut mak úyó** (*O*: a carving) **kábímí kaal diim kal** (*L*: on
 your skin) **dooleb' kéelí** (*Ptb*: I-wrote-for-you) (*TB*) 'I wrote on
 your skin'

L - **boóyó** (*S*: she) **ook úyó** (*O*: water) **beémí dubóm díim kal** (*L*: on his head) **deeleb' mú** (*Ptb*: she-poured-for-him) (*TB*) 'she poured water on his head'

2.4 AGREEMENT OF TIME AND PREDICATE

Table C summarizes the collocations of Time Unit and Predicate tense that occur. It will be noted that the Time Unit and the Predicate tense are in agreement, the agreement being more exact between more specific time and more specific tense, and being less exact between less specific time and tense. Tenseless forms will be seen to occur with all Time expressions, relative Time expressions with all tenses.

All the Verb forms cited in the table are Independent forms of the Verb **bákamin** 'say', 'tell', 'talk', and all finite forms contain one of the third person singular masculine subject suffixes **-á**, **-e**, or **-ák**.

Occurrence is indicated by (x), non-occurrence by (-), and doubtful occurrence by (?).

The **-sá** past tense punctiliar only occurs with time expressions for the very remote past, especially for times preceding the birth of the speaker, whereas the **-se** past tense punctiliar occurs with expressions for the less remote past.

One Verb form, **bákán-'boómá** 'he is always talking', does not occur with the Time Unit at all. The only time-like co-occurrent of this form is the Adverb **suúnkúb** 'always'. Similarly, the Customary Continuative form **bákam-in** '<he> talks', except in its Imperative usage, does not occur with the Time Unit, or with **suúnkúb**. When used with **suúnkúb** rather than with a time expression, **báká-nubá**, **báká-'nákbe**, **báka-bá**, and periphrases **bákán álbá** (recent extended) and **bákán tébesá** (stative habitual) all seem to be synonymous with **bákán-'boómá**.

Imperative forms, which show the same agreement pattern as general future forms, include the following: Customary Continuative, **bákam-in**, in a Clause having a second person Pronoun as Person in the Subject Unit; Potential when followed by Sentence Terminals **a**, **oo**, or by **oo aketa koo**; second person Abilitative (with negative meaning).

Table C: AGREEMENT OF TIME AND PREDICATE

TENSE IN THE PREDICATE THE TIME UNIT	SPECIFIC TIME						VAGUE TIME					RELATIVE TIME
	more than 2 days ago	1 or 2 days ago	less than 1 day ago	less than 1 day ahead	1 or 2 days ahead	more than 2 days ahead	a long time ago	some time ago	recently, soon	now	some time ahead	
FAR PAST: bóko-sá, boko-se, ²⁶ bákam-sá	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x
GENERAL PAST PUNCTILIAR: bóko-bá	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	?	-	x
YESTERDAY PAST: bóko-mansá, bákán-mansá	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	x
IMMEDIATE PAST: bókol-á	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
PAST HABITUAL: báká-nubá	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	?	-	-	x
RECENT HABITUAL: báká-'nákbe, báká-bá	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
PRESENT CONTINUATIVE: bákán-be	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x
IMMEDIATE FUTURE: bákam-á	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	x
TOMORROW FUTURE: bóko-'boóntemá, bákán-'boóntemá	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	?	x	x
GENERAL FUTURE: bókol-antémá, bákam-antémá, also Imperative forms	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x
TENSELESS FORMS: Potential: bókol-ák, bákam-ák Abilitative: bóko-'namá, bákam-'namá Negative: bókol-íntém, bákam-íntém Unfulfilled Obligation: bókol-anakin, bákam-anakin	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

A representative sample of possible Noun Phrases occurring as the Time Unit is as follows:²⁷

SPECIFIC TIME:

siin yák mâk úmí falaédé úyó	'Friday of last week'
amsinsín ílo	'day before yesterday'
amsintá	'yesterday'
amsín mililiib koótá	'last night'
kamáno mililiib koótá	'last night', 'tonight'
kamáno kutím koótá	'this morning'
kamáno kwiina koótá	'this afternoon'
amsáb kutím koótá	'tomorrow morning'
amsáb úyó	'tomorrow'
amsáb bíi kaál	'the day after tomorrow'
amsáb bíi kaálkaal	'two days after tomorrow'
yák mâk úmí falaédé koótá	'Friday of next week'
yák mâk úmí ától dúkúlantemib koótá	'next Christmas', 'next year'

VAGUE TIME:

sukáyok sukayok koótá	'a very long time ago'
sukámí koótá	'a long time ago'
siin úyó	'some time ago'
kamaá koótá	'recently', 'just'; 'soon', 'about to'
meéb kamaá koótá	
ka	
kamáno	'now' (?)
kamáno am ka daanu koótá	'today'
am ka daanu koótá	'now'
suúktá, suúkká	'later on', 'sometime'

The expressions **kamaá koótá**, **meéb kamaá koótá**, and **ka** indicate general proximity to the present. Their translation as 'recently' or 'soon' depends on whether a past or future tense occurs in the related Predicate.

RELATIVE TIME:

aaltam	'afterwards'
kamaá kí	'(at) first'

The same full distribution as these two expressions have is shared by Sequential Clauses indicating relative time, such as **siita** 'soon', **biita** 'later'.

There are two aspects in Telefól Verbs: Punctiliar for momentary or short action, often marked by suffix **-l**, and Continuative for more protracted action, marked by **-m**, **-n**, or **-n'kal**. Many Verbs also have contrastive stems for Punctiliar and Continuative Aspect.

The interrogative Time Phrase **dook koótá** 'when?' occurs with Punctiliar Aspect Verb forms almost exclusively. So also does the Sequential Clause **dokóbe dokobe keeta** 'whenever'.

The expression **kwiina soó kutím soó**, an idiom meaning 'all day long', occurs mostly with Continuative Aspect Verb forms. The Adverb **suúnkúb** 'always' also occurs mostly with Continuative forms.

3. CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF CLAUSE TYPES

The following abbreviation of part of Table A shows for the Clause Types listed only those units which are diagnostic for their establishment as separate Clause Types:

Transitive (<i>T</i>)		$\pm O$	$+Pt$
Transitive Benefactive (<i>TB</i>)	$\pm B$	$\pm O$	$+Pt b$
Intransitive (<i>I</i>)			$+Pi$
Intransitive Benefactive (<i>IB</i>)	$\pm B$		$+Pi b$
Motion (<i>M</i>)		$\pm Dn$	$+Pm$
Motion Benefactive (<i>MB</i>)		$\pm Dn$	$+Pm b$
Complementary (<i>C</i>)		$\pm Co$	$+Pc$
Complementary Benefactive (<i>CB</i>)		$\pm Co$	$+Pc b$

Benefactive Clause Types are distinguished from the corresponding non-benefactive Clause Types by: (a) a modification of the Predicate, as described in sections 1.22 and 2.3, and (b) agreement between the Predicate and either a Beneficiary Unit or else the Possessor in one of the other units in the Clause as described in section 2.3.

The evidence for distinguishing Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, and Complementary Predicates has already been given - a separate syntactic class of Verb occurs in each one, and these syntactic classes tend to be manifested by Verbs of different morphologically-defined stem-classes.

With each of these types of Predicate other than Intransitive a contrastive Object-like unit occurs: Object, Destination, and Complement respectively. Each of these contrastive units is manifested by a Noun Phrase.

INTRANSITIVE Clauses, of course, have no Object-like unit:

beémí oókén úyó (*S*: his mother) **kaansuu** (*Pi*: she-has-died) (*I*) 'his mother is dead'

beémí oókén úyó (*S*: his mother) **támálanbú** (*Pi*: she-got-better) (*I*) 'his mother is better'

beémí ímán úyó (*S*: his taro) **damánsú** (*Pi*: it-has-matured) (*I*) 'his

taro has matured', 'his taro is mature'

beémí ímán úyó (S: his taro) **damaneb' éesú** (Pt: it-has-matured-for-him) (TB) 'his taro has matured'

In the TRANSITIVE Clause, the Object is manifested by a General Noun Phrase, which may contain various sub-classes of Noun other than Location Nouns in its Nucleus, and which may have as Person any one of a wide variety of Pronoun series. However, it is more common for Object to occur without Person in the Phrase, especially when it immediately precedes the Predicate.

Tíkínekál iyó (S: Tikinekal) **am** (O: house) **dínánbe** (Pt: he-is-building) (T) 'Tikinekal is building a house'

kábmí (O: you) **kákánbe** (Pt: he-is-insulting-you) (T) 'he is insulting you'

oókén soolé aálab soó (O: his mother and father) **ímkánálale** (Pt: he-left-them-and) (T) 'he left his father and mother....'

kookot ímí sáng (O: your uncle's saying) **bákánbe** (Pt: he-is-telling) (T) 'he's telling what your uncle said'

am (O: house) **díne'neemantémib** (Pt: they-will-build-for-me) (TB) 'they'll build me a house'

tanúm beéyó (O: that man) **Tifálam kal** (L: at Tifalmin) **áng koólíb** (Pt: they-killed-him) (T) 'they killed that man at Tifalmin'

There is a group of idiomatic Object-Predicate collocations in which just one possible Noun occurs with a particular Verb, and the Noun is characteristically possessed. Many of these collocations are in the semantic area of the emotions. The Possessor within the Object is equivalent to the English Object, and the possessed Noun + Predicate is equivalent to the English Predicate:²⁸

kábmí áket (O: thought about you) **fúkúnpii** (Pt: I-am-thinking) (T) 'I am thinking about you'

nímí ílak (O: regard for me) **dúkanúbá** (Pt: he-has) (T) 'he loves me'

kúbmí kálan (O: for you) **ámánbe** (Pt: he-is-crying) (T) 'he is crying for you'

beémí átul (O: pain about him) **fínanúbí** (Pt: I-fear) (T) 'I am afraid of him'

boómí wéeng (O: her word) **úmób' éelí** (Pt: I-contracted-it-with-her) (TB) 'I greeted her'

In the MOTION Clause, Destination is manifested by either a Destination Phrase or a Direction Phrase. The Destination Phrase is a variant of the General Noun Phrase containing a Location Noun as Head of the Nucleus, few Laterals other than Post-Direction, Pre-Direction,

and occasionally Person.²⁹ Person, if present, is manifested by a third person **-ta** or **-o** series Pronoun. It always occurs if the Destination Unit is followed by Manner Unit. The Direction Phrase also contains a Location Noun in the Nucleus, may contain Pre-Direction and Post-Direction, and is obligatorily terminated by one of a very small class of Direction Indicators. These two Phrase Types are confined to the Destination Unit and so are diagnostic.

seéb (*Dn*: forest) **úní** (*Pm*: I-go) (*M*) 'I'm going to the forest'

Tifálam (*Dn*: Tifalmin) **daákiníb** (*Pm*: they-left) (*M*) 'they left Tifalmin'

mamet (*Dn*: up-here) **tálaal** (*Pm*: you-come) (*M*) 'come up here'

Tifálam kweék téle (*Dn*: via Tifalmin across there) **tílib** (*Pt*: they-came) (*M*) 'they came via Tifalmin'

Tifálam ilota (*Dn*: from Tifalmin) **tílib** (*Pm*: they-came) (*M*) 'they came from Tifalmin'

A Descriptive Phrase is the usual manifestation of the Complement in a COMPLEMENTARY Clause, but occasionally a General Noun Phrase occurs there.

támbáliim (*Co*: good) **álbí** (*Pc*: I-am) (*C*) 'I am well'

támbáliim (*Co*: good) **keélú** (*Pc*: she-became) (*C*) 'she got better'

kún (*Co*: strong) **tébesú** (*Pc*: it-has-become) (*C*) 'it is strong'

miít álob mak (*Co*: just two kinds) **álbíb** (*Pc*: they-are) (*C*) 'there are just two kinds'

seéb kál (*L*: in the forest) **álbíb** (*Pc*: they-are) (*C*) 'they are in the forest'

boóyó (*S*: she) **seéb kál** (*L*: in the forest) **támbáliim** (*Co*: good) **álbú** (*Pc*: she-was) (*C*) 'she was all right in the forest'

boóyó (*S*: it) **nulúmí ook alíkaab** (*Co*: our responsibility entirely) **keébú** (*Pc*: it-has-become) (*C*) 'it is our responsibility entirely'

kanúbe ákánbíli ámeba ulútáb (*Co*: he cried because I scolded him like-it) **kéebe** (*Pc*: he-is-doing) (*C*) 'he is crying as though I had scolded him'

The EQUATIONAL Clause is different in several respects from all other Clause Types. It has fewer optional units, only Subject, Time, and Manner occurring. Its Predicate is a General Noun Phrase, a Descriptive Phrase, a **soó** Phrase or a **bíním** Phrase. These latter two types of Noun Phrase are diagnostic of the Equational Predicate. The Complementary Clause is the most similar type to the Equational, but differs in containing a verbal Predicate, which may be benefactive, and in the possible occurrence of a Location Unit. However, the Noun Phrase Types most commonly occurring as *Pe* and as *Co* are similar,

though not identical. Neither **soó** nor **bíním** Phrases occur as Complement. Qualifiers of the *A₁* (colour) and *A₂* (size) types tend to manifest a Descriptive Phrase as *Pe*, while those of the *A₃* (quality) and *A₄* (quantifier) types tend to manifest a Descriptive Phrase as *Co*.³⁰

- beéyó** (*Se*: he) **tímitím** (*Pe*: tall) (*E*) 'he is tall'
beéyó (*Se*: he) **Álúmeyók** (*Pe*: Alume yok) (*E*) 'that's Alume yok'
beéyó (*Se*: he) **nímí áatúm** (*Pe*: my father) (*E*) 'that's/he's my father'
Álúmeyók iyó (*Se*: Alume yok) **nímí áatúm itá** (*Pe*: my father) (*E*)
 'Alume yok is my father'
boóyó (*Se*: it) **nímí** (*Pe*: my) (*E*) 'it's/that's mine'
beéyó (*Se*: he) **koong álob soó** (*Pe*: has two pigs) (*E*) 'he has two pigs'
beéyó (*Se*: he) **koong binim** (*Pe*: no pigs) (*E*) 'he has no pigs'
koong úyó (*Se*: pig) **bíním** (*Pe*: none) (*E*) 'there are no pigs'
beéyó (*Se*: he) **kábká bá** (*Pe*: not you) (*E*) 'it wasn't you'
íse mán boóyó (*Se*: this child) **nalátáb** (*Pe*: like-me) (*E*) 'this child is like me'

All Sub-Types of the QUOTATIVE Clause contrast with other Clause Types in two features: (a) the obligatory Quote Unit, which is not a Noun Phrase, but a sentence terminating in a Quotative Marker instead of a Sentence Terminal, and (b) the single Quotative Predicate Verb **akan' kalin**. The five Sub-Types of the Quotative Clause contrast with each other in their internal structure. This is partly shown in Table A, and is discussed in detail elsewhere.²

The Referent Unit, which occurs only in the Naming Quotative Clause, is manifested by a General Noun Phrase and looks like an Object. However, it does not agree with the prefix of the Verb as do other Objects. It is therefore a different unit, and an additional contrastive feature of its Clause.³¹

4. DISTRIBUTION OF CLAUSES IN THE SENTENCE

The Sentence in Telefol may be brief, but is frequently of great length. Its onset may be marked by certain stereotyped formulae:

- (a) a time expression such as **kamaá kí...** 'Now...',
- (b) an Equational Subject, like **koóyó kí...** 'This is (about)...',
- (c) a repetition, in Dependent form, of the final Predicate of the preceding Sentence.

In addition to one of these, it may be marked by certain Connectives, particularly **kale** 'so', 'and' and **mínte** 'and', and it is always marked by the beginning of a new intonation contour.

Its conclusion is marked by a falling intonation superimposed upon the tonemes of the final words, regardless of the type of the final Clause, and may also be marked by:

(a) an Independent Predicate in other than Punctiliar neutral tense,

(b) a Sentence Terminal, such as

koo	'statement indicator' (sentence)
kwa	'statement indicator' (discourse)
kuba	'emphatic statement indicator'
áka	'interrogative indicator'
ákuu	'familiar interrogative indicator'
a	'interrogative indicator' (after interrogative word)
a	'imperative indicator'
uu	'familiarity indicator' (statement and imperative)
belé ki)	'interrogative indicator' (= 'or not?')
belé a)	
oo	'polite imperative indicator' ³²

It has already been demonstrated that a Clause or sequence of Clauses may occur as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase. Such Clauses have been termed INCLUDED CLAUSES.³³

A Clause or Clause sequence may also occur followed by **oó** or **kalaá** as the Quote Unit in a Quotative Clause.¹⁸

Clauses occurring in sequence in a Sentence have been termed SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES. Sequential Clauses occur in the chronological order of the events they describe, except for certain co-ordinated Clause sequences where no semantic element of time is present. Any number of Sequential Clauses may occur in a string. Non-final in the string both Independent and Dependent Clauses occur, the majority being Dependent. Homopersonal Dependent Clauses are those whose Predicate is unmarked (i.e. an uninflected stem) or is marked by the suffix **-nVI** for same subject in the following Clause; Heteropersonal Dependent Clauses are those whose Predicate is marked by the suffix **-sVI**, **-bVI**, or **-kVI** for different subject in the following Clause. Most non-final Independent Clauses have their Predicate in the Punctiliar neutral tense. The final Clause of the string is almost always Independent. The one exception is the use of a Homopersonal Dependent Predicate suffixed by **-abta** or **-ibta** as an imperative, a semantically similar alternative to the more commonly used Potential Tense forms **-al** and **-in**. The former is used when an extra-linguistic connection with another unstated event is implied. The final Clause may contain Predicate Modifiers such as: **tab** 'perhaps', **bá** 'negative', **noo** 'also',

úmak 'any', within the Predicate Phrase. The first two of these affect semantically all the preceding Dependent Clauses as far back as the last Independent Clause of the string. The semantic force of Sentence Terminals also affects preceding Dependent Clauses back to the last Independent Clause.

NOTES

1. Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Noun Phrases", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.4*, Canberra, 1965 (henceforth referred to as T.N.P.); "Telefol Verb Phrases", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.3, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.5*, pp.27-53. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, Territory of New Guinea. This paper is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. Thanks are due to Karl J. Franklin, Rosemary Young, and Alan Healey for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
2. The common and contrastive features of these Sub-Types of Quotative Clauses are described in detail in Phyllis M. Healey, "Teleéfoól Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.3*, Canberra, 1964, pp.27-34 (henceforth referred to as P.M.H. 1964). Since the publication of this article the orthography has been modified as a result of machine measurement of vowels, and the language name for bibliographical purposes has been re-spelt **Telefol**.
3. Referent is called Object in P.M.H. 1964.
4. For each of these Clause Types except the Equational, there are three possible modifications, discussed in section 1.2.
5. Although in this table these two Clause Types appear to differ in one respect only from their non-benefactive counterparts, there is in fact an additional feature of agreement that distinguishes them further. See section 2.3.
6. Although in this table some of the Quotative Clauses also appear to differ in one respect only, more than one significant structural difference is encompassed within the one Clause-level unit, the Quote (Q). See P.M.H. 1964.
7. Co-ordination is discussed in section 1.23 and Laterals in section 2.1 of T.N.P.
8. The Customary Continuative form of the Verb, terminating in the suffix **-in**, has been used for citation, to represent the particular Verb in all its forms. It is the nearest equivalent of an English infinitive, and it is easily elicited.

9. Tense and aspect are discussed in section **2.4**.
10. For the evidence for this juncture see Alan Healey, "Telefol Phonology", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.3*, Canberra, 1964, pp.37-38.
11. This punctiliar form, which contains conflicting aspect suffixes, occurs with only one-third of the tense suffixes.
12. The function of the associated Clause of a Quotative Clause and of the prefix of **akan' kalin** are described in P.M.H. 1964, section **3**.
13. The **V** in these suffixes represents a vowel which is identical to the first vowel of the following subject suffix.
14. Table B is a repetition of Table C of section **3.3** of T.N.P.
15. For the contrasts between Phrase Types see Table B in section **3.26** and Table A in section **2.16** of T.N.P.
16. For examples of Clauses containing the various clause-level units, see section **3**.
17. The Instrument Phrase is described in T.N.P. section **3.15**, where alternative analysis (a) was still employed.
18. For a detailed discussion of types of Quote see P.M.H. 1964.
19. See section **2.1** of Alan Healey, "Linguistic Aspects of Telefomin Kinship Terminology", *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.4, No.7, 1962, pp.14-28. Noun sub-classes are described in T.N.P. section **1.1**.
20. For a description of Quantifiers see T.N.P. section **1.22(d)**.
21. Number is described in T.N.P. section **2.13**.
22. Post-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section **2.15**.
23. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section **2.16**. The extra third person Pronoun stems **keé-** and **koó-** indicate position 'here', **beé-** and **boó-** position 'there'.
24. All the examples of Clauses in this paper are given as part-sentences only. The Sentence Terminal is not shown, nor is the equivalent English punctuation.
25. The Possessor is more fully described in T.N.P. section **1.21**.
26. The details of Telefol Verb morphology are to be described in Alan Healey, "Telefol Morphology".
27. The internal composition of the Noun Phrase as Time is described in T.N.P. sections **1.21(e)** and **3.13**.

28. Possessed Objects are described in more detail in T.N.P. section **1.21(f)**.
29. These various Laterals are described in T.N.P. section **2.1**.
30. The Qualifiers are described in T.N.P. section **1.22**.
31. This statement represents a revision of the analysis given in P.M.H. 1964, section **1**.
32. This may be a contraction of the Direct Imperative Quotative which terminates in ... **oó aketa**.
33. Included Clauses are described and illustrated in T.N.P. section **1.26**.

TELEFOL VERB PHRASES

PHYLLIS M. HEALEY

ABBREVIATIONS

- < > : Pointed brackets signify that the bracketed item is cited to represent all the members of its class
- Co*: Clause Complement Unit
- D₁*: Noun Phrase Pre-Direction Unit
- D₂*: Noun Phrase Post-Direction Unit
- Mp*: Phrase Modifier
- O*: Clause Object Unit
- Pc*: Clause Complementary Predicate Unit
- Pi*: Clause Intransitive Predicate Unit
- Pm*: Clause Motion Predicate Unit
- Pq*: Clause Quotative Predicate Unit
- Pr*: Noun Phrase Person Unit
- Pt*: Clause Transitive Predicate Unit
- Ptb*: Clause Transitive Benefactive Predicate Unit
- S*: Clause Subject Unit
- Ti*: Clause Time Unit

0. INTRODUCTION

In Telefol, a Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Nucleus followed by optional Laterals.¹ The Nucleus may contain either:

- (a) a Simple Verb,
- (b) an inseparable Adjunct + Auxiliary Verb,
- (c) a usually separable Adjunct + **keemin** 'be', 'do',
- (d) a verbal Periphrase,

or it may contain a nested combination of two or more of these.

A SIMPLE VERB consists of one simple or derived stem and its affixes. There are at least three types of COMPLEX VERB, which may nest with one another. An inseparable ADJUNCT + AUXILIARY VERB con-

sists of one of a small set of Simple Verbs immediately preceded by a non-inflected stem or pair of stems as Adjunct. A usually separable ADJUNCT + **KEEMIN** consists of an expandable unit resembling a Noun Phrase followed by the versatile Verb **keemin** 'do', 'be'. A verbal PERIPHRASE consists of a non-finite Verb followed by one of a small set of finite Simple Verbs. The finite Verb terminating each of these Complex Verb types loses the meaning it has when it occurs as a Simple Verb.

Though they have some superficial similarities, the three types of Complex Verb contrast. (a) A different, though partly overlapping, group of Verbs occurs as the second part of each. (b) The first part of a Periphrase is any Verb, in certain affixed forms; the first part before **keemin** is expandable and may be a member of a wide variety of word-classes; the inseparable Adjunct is uninflected, unexpandable, and belongs to a restricted word-class. (c) The second part of an Adjunct + Auxiliary is marked for benefactive and may exhibit tonal sandhi; the second part of Adjunct + **keemin** is marked for benefactive unless the first part is a Verb, and only the few inseparable cases exhibit tonal sandhi; but the first part of a Periphrase is usually marked for benefactive and the second part does not show tonal sandhi. Just a few Periphrases may have either part marked for benefactive.

1. SIMPLE VERB

The STEM of the Simple Verb has the following morphological shape:²

(a) NON-BENEFACTIVE STEM:

object					
± person	+	root	±	derivational	+ aspect
prefix				suffix	suffix

(b) BENEFACTIVE STEM:

object				benef. /	benef.			
± person	+	root	±	deriv.	+ aspect	+ person	+ aspect	
prefix				suffix	suffix	marker	suffix	

Many Verbs have more than one root. In particular, it is common for the root associated with punctiliar aspect to be different from that associated with continuative aspect. E.g. **bóko-l-** (talk/punctiliar - punctiliar), **boko-b-'née-l-** (talk/punctiliar-benefactive/punctiliar-me-punctiliar), **báka-m-** (talk/continuative-continuative), **bákaa-Ø-'nee-m-** (talk/continuative-benefactive/continuative-me-continuative).

About 20% of all Verbs are marked for object by prefixation. There are several sets of prefixes indicating varying numbers of person-

number distinctions. The commonest is the 5-way distinction as exemplified by:

ní-fíli-n-	'sorry for me'
ká-fíli-n-	'sorry for you-sing.'
kú-fíli-n-	'sorry for her'
dú-fíli-n-	'sorry for him'
í-fíli-n-	'sorry for us/you-pl./them'

Verb stems are derived from Adjectives and Nouns by the suffix **-an**:

duum	'faded'	duum-an-	'fade'
dam	'body'	dam-an-	'ripen'
katíb	'small'	katíb-án-	'diminish'
bíním	'none'	bíním-an-	'be finished'

Although the above object person prefix and derivational suffix are both shown in the composite formula, they are mutually exclusive in occurrence, the former occurring only with certain Transitive Verbs (*Pt*), the latter only with certain Intransitive Verbs (*Pi*).

Punctiliar aspect is marked by the suffix **-l**, which is lost next to a consonant. Continuative aspect is marked by one of the suffixes **-n**, **-m**, **-n' kal**.

There are several sets of suffixes which occur with the above stems:³

(a) FINITE INDEPENDENT VERB:

+ stem	+ tense	+ negative	+ subject
	suffix	suffix	suffix

bókol-antem-ál-á (*Pt*: talk-will-not-he) 'he will not talk'

bákán-mans-á (*Pt*: talking-yesterday-he) 'he was talking yesterday'

(b) NON-FINITE INDEPENDENT VERB:

+ stem	+ mood
	suffix

bákam-in (*Pt*: talking-customary) 'talk'

bókol-íntém (*Pt*: talk-not) 'did/do/will not talk'

(c) POTENTIAL INDEPENDENT VERB:

	potential
+ stem	+ subject
	suffix

bókol-ák (*Pt*: talk-potential/he) 'he must/will/wants to talk'

(d) DEPENDENT VERB:

+ stem ±	interval	+ subject	+ subject
	suffix	+ preview	+ suffix
		suffix	

bóko-'sal-á (*Pt*: talk-different/subject-he) 'after he spoke <they>'

báka-'boom-'bal-á (*Pt*: talking-some/time-different/subject-he) 'after he had been talking for some time <they>'

bóko-sit-'nal-a (*Pt*: talk-soon/after-same/subject-he) 'soon after he spoke (he)'

bákán-bii-'nal-a (*Pt*: talking-keep/on-same/subject-he) 'while he was still speaking (he)'

In a number of the above forms there is phonological juncture, marked by ('). If they were not so close-knit and so common, these forms might be interpreted as Periphrases containing a form of the Verb **nin** 'be' as the second part.

2. ADJUNCT + AUXILIARY VERB

2.1 AUXILIARY VERBS

There is a small group of Verbs which commonly occur with verbal Adjuncts. These Verbs may have virtually no semantic significance when they occur with an Adjunct, though they normally have distinctive meanings when they occur alone in a Verb Phrase. Their function is as carrier of aspect, tense, subject person-number, and other suffixes. Most Adjuncts occur with only one of these Auxiliary Verbs. When these Verbs occur alone as Simple Verbs, they belong to various syntactic classes (Transitive, Intransitive, Motion, Complementary, Quotative). The Complex Verbs in which they occur as Auxiliary may be Transitive, Intransitive, or Motion, depending on the Adjunct, not on the syntactic class of the Auxiliary. A Complex Verb involving an inseparable Adjunct is made benefactive by modification of the Auxiliary Verb.

The following is a list of the commonly occurring Auxiliary Verbs, together with their isolation meaning, if any, and some of the Adjuncts which co-occur with them. The syntactic class of each collocation is indicated with the meaning. There are a number of other Auxiliary Verbs which have been observed with one or two Adjuncts only.

akan'kalin	(<i>Pq</i>) 'say', 'see that', 'want to' ⁴
béélo akan'kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'ring the bell'
bilili akan'kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'relax', 'be satisfied'
biing akan'kalin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'tighten', 'be taut'

ditang akan' kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be self-disciplined'
fuu akan' kalin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'blow (dust, air-borne ashes, insect) away'
mitik akan' kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) '(weather) becomes dark'
niil (kub) akan' kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be stiff'
tangaáng akan' kalin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'ring a bell'
dákamin (does not occur as a Simple Verb) ⁵	
bám dákamin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'recover'
difií dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'attract his attention'
diíng dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'wash clothes'
dubkém dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'reveal him, betray him, clear around it'
dumákátém dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'step, jump over him'
fiit dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'vibrate, be noisy', 'make it vibrate'
ilék dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'push into', 'encroach upon'
kúbáket dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'remember', 'keep in mind'
síng dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'spill something'
kúbkamin (does not occur as a Simple Verb)	
dee kúbkamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'tie up', 'gaol'
dóko kúbkamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'dislocate, break (joint)'
ilo kúbkamin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'divide in two'
moomin (<i>Pt</i>) 'stand up'	
dú móomin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'carry him on shoulders'
takká móomin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'seduce'
tiin moomin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'look after'
saanin (<i>Pt</i>) 'buy'	
bubat saanin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'disappear'
deek saanin)	(<i>Pt</i>) 'bump (head)', 'stub (toe)', 'shut (door)'
kweek saanin)	
díl sáanin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'have reserved', 'have set aside'
doók sáanin)	(<i>Pm</i>) 'bounce back', 'reflect off'
seék sáanin)	
fii sáanin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'go right to sleep'
koong sáanin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be startled'
nakát sáanin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'lock, shut firmly', 'be firm, locked'
niíl sáanin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be paralyzed'
talaát sáanin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'become emaciated'
tiik saanin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'have reserved', 'have set aside'
tukakiit sáanin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'shoot (arrow)'
únáng kálin (<i>Pt</i>) 'eat'	
mumulik únáng' kálin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'swallow'
wínól únáng' kálin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'moan in light sleep when sick'
yukuút únáng' kálin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'steal'

2.2 ADJUNCTS

The Adjunct is uninflected, and is inseparable from its Auxiliary. It resembles a Verb stem manifesting a preceding Predicate, a single Noun manifesting the Object or Complement Unit, or an Adverb occurring as Manner Unit.⁶ Each of these possible alternatives may be distinguished by testing. If the form is a Verb stem, eliciting will produce inflected forms of the Verb:

tál únelá 'he came and ate'
tálnálata únelá 'he came and ate'

If the form is a Noun, eliciting will produce Noun Phrase expansions and Laterals, particularly the occurrence of a Pronoun as Person (e.g. **úyó, útá, boóyó, or boótá**) between the Noun and the Verb:

ímán únelá 'he ate taro'
ímán úyó únelá 'he ate taro'

If the form is an Adverb, and so a member of a class of uninflected stems, it may be distinguished from an Adjunct by the mobility of the Manner Unit in which it occurs. Although Manner usually immediately precedes the Predicate, it may also occur preceding any one of the other clause-level units later than Accompaniment:

âsók únelá 'he ate again'
âsók ímán únelá 'he ate taro again'

Many of the forms occurring as Adjunct never occur in any other position, and these may therefore be said to constitute an Adjunct class. A very few others, however, come from other classes. For example, the Noun **tiin** 'eye' occurs as Adjunct with the Verb **moomin** 'stand'. But its status as an Adjunct rather than an Object is identified by the non-occurrence of a following Pronoun as Person or Adverb as Manner Unit, and is confirmed in this case by the potential co-occurrence of another Noun Phrase as Object of the Transitive Complex Verb **tiin moomin** 'look after', 'care for'.

2.3 ADJUNCTS MARKED FOR OBJECT

Many of the Verbs prefixed for Object are of the Adjunct + Auxiliary shape, the Adjunct Unit being of the Adjunct class, and being the carrier of the object prefix:

náfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave me behind'
káfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave you-sing. behind'
kúfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave her behind'
dúfál dákamin (Pt) 'leave him behind'
ífál dákamin (Pt) 'leave us/you-pl./them behind'

Each of the following Complex Verbs is cited in the 'him' form, and has equivalent forms for the other object persons as above. For each

object person there are several prefixial allomorphs.⁷

difií dákamin	(Pt)	'attract his attention'
dúbkém dákamin	(Pt)	'reveal him', 'betray him', 'clear around it'
dúmákátém dákamin	(Pt)	'step, jump over him'
déé fúumin	(Pt)	'burn him'
dú móomin	(Pt)	'carry him on shoulders'
dúb díimin	(Pt)	'hang him'
dúb kúkumin	(Pt)	'test him out'
dúbtál míkimin	(Pt)	'hug, embrace him'
an tókonin	(Pt)	'angry with him', 'scold him' ⁸

2.4 PUNCTILIAR STEM + TÉBEMIN

A very limited list of punctiliar Verb stems occur before **tébemin** (Pc) 'become', 'appear'. All forms of **tébemin** may occur, but the punctiliar forms are more commonly used. The two parts of the resultant Complex Verb are inseparable. The meanings of these Complex Verbs are not predictable from their parts, that is, they are Phrase idioms. Since they differ from other Complex Verbs involving a Verb as first part, in their inseparability and their idiomatic meanings, they have been tentatively included in the Adjunct + Auxiliary section of this paper.

All of these Verbs are Intransitive, and their typical subjects are the typical objects of the corresponding Simple Verbs. They involve either no agent or an unstated agent, and are therefore equivalent to an English agentless passive.

Most of these Phrase idioms also occur with the punctiliar stem reduplicated. In the reduplicated forms, the final vowel of the stem is absent, and the tonemes of the second part of the reduplication are reversed. In respect of this tonal sandhi they contrast formally with the Periphrase described in section 4.42. Also, most of them involve Verbs of a particular morphological class, while the Periphrase may involve any Verb.

bakélámin	(Pt)	'split (wood)'	bakélá tébemin)	(Pi)	'(a fallen tree) is smashed'
			bakél bákel tébemin)		
bíkímin	(Pt)	'pierce'	bíkí tébemin		(Pi)	'be split down the middle'
bíkínamin	(Pi)	'sprout, explode'	bíkín tébemin		(Pi)	'be burst open'
dalátámin	(Pt)	'dis-mantle'	dalátá tébemin)	(Pi)	'(cloth) full of holes, falling to pieces'
			dalá(t) dálat tébemin)		
dekélámin	(Pt)	'loosen, remove'	dekélá tébemin)	(Pi)	'be separated'
			dekél dékel tébemin)		

duúlámin	(Pt) 'butcher'	duúlá tébemin) duúl dúul tébemin)	(Pi) 'be lacerated'
fakélámin	(Pt) 'break'	fakéla tébemin) fakél fákel tébemin)	(Pi) 'be broken, rusted'
feélámin	(Pt) 'squirt it out'	feéla tébemin) feél féel tébemin)	(Pi) '(pus) oozes out'
fubkélámin	(Pi) 'turn'	fubkéla tébemin	(Pi) 'be loaded down' (tree with fruit, man with heavy bag)
ibálámin	(Pt) 'strip leaves off'	ibála tébemin	(Pi) '(a fallen tree) is smashed'
kabtúkámin	(Pt) 'break, smash'	kabtúka tébemin) kabtúk kabtuk tébemin)	(Pi) 'be broken, smashed'
kalélámin	(Pt) 'crush'	kaléla tébemin) kalél káel tébemin)	(Pi) 'be broken into small pieces'
keenamin	(Pi) 'shine, burn' (fire, lamp)	keen tébemin	(Pi) 'be burnt'
keéngámin	(Pt) 'pull'	keénga tébemin	(Pi) 'be taken back', 'be abducted'
koólámin	(Pt) 'crunch, smash'	koóla tébemin) koól kóol tébemin)	(Pi) '(a fallen tree) is smashed'
teétámin	(Pt) 'break into splinters'	teéta tébemin) teét téet tébemin)	(Pi) 'be splintered'

3. ADJUNCT + KEEMIN

A wide variety of different forms occur as Adjunct before the Verb **keemin** 'do', 'be' to form Complex Verbs. These forms resemble the type of Adjunct described in section 2 in determining the syntactic class of the Complex Verb, and in that where this Verb is Transitive (Pt) they may co-occur with a Noun Phrase manifesting the Object Unit (O), or where it is Motion (Pm) they may co-occur with a Noun Phrase manifesting the Destination Unit (Dn). Most of these Adjuncts differ from the inseparable Adjuncts of section 2, however, in their expandability. It is characteristic of Adjuncts preceding **keemin** that many of them are reduplicated forms indicating repetition of action or plurality of object. Most are also separable in that they are occasionally followed by certain Laterals, notably Person (manifested by the Pronoun **úyó**) and Phrase Modifiers (such as **kub** which in this context means 'very', 'still', and **úmak** 'any'). However, the types of

Adjunct described in sections 3.22 and 3.27 are inseparable.⁹ It is usually **keemin**, the second part of these types of Complex Verb, which is modified for benefactive, as is the Auxiliary in section 2 above. However, where the Adjunct before **keemin** is formed from a Verb, either part may be modified for benefactive.

Most of the separable Adjuncts described in this section, especially the reduplicated Verb forms of 3.3, may be followed by **nin** 'be' as an alternative to **keemin** without change of meaning.

3.1 ADJUNCT (ADJUNCT CLASS) + KEEMIN

The Verb **keemin** may be preceded by a simple form not belonging to any other word class, or a reduplicated form the parts of which do not occur elsewhere. Some of these have **i** changing to another vowel in the reduplication.

bát kéemin	(Pi) 'be disappointed'
faán kéemin	(Pi) 'be unattended, abandoned'
iil keemin	(Pi) 'do to no avail', 'be unable to do as intended'
kan keemin	(Pt) 'get ready', 'tidy up'
kukúm kéemin	(Pi) 'behave inexplicably'
maakálo keemin	(Pi) 'be lost'
mísám kéemin)	
súkuul keemin)	(Pi) 'be thankful'
bal bal keemin	(Pi) 'be kind, friendly'
bikek bikek keemin	(Pt) 'part (grass, to look or go through)'
biteng biteng keemin)	
bitíng biténg keemin)	(Pi) '(legs) kick around' (e.g. dying pig)
fákálík fákálaak keemin	(Pt) 'mix, stir it', '(pig) messes up (ground)'
fiíng fóong keemin	(Pi) 'whistle'
kabi kabi keemin	(Pi) 'stagger', 'walk erratically'
kafi kafi keemin	(Pi) 'flap wings', 'flutter', 'hover'
kali kali keemin	(Pt) 'tickle'; (Pi) 'sprinkle down'
kálíng kálung keemin	(Pi) 'make booming sound', 'clatter' (e.g. tin)
makib makib keemin	(Pt) 'suck (e.g. a sweet)'
muk muk keemin	(Pi) 'shiver'
nililii nililii keemin	(Pi) 'growl'
seek seek keemin	(Pi) 'hiss'
tangaang tangaang keemin	(Pi) 'ring', 'clang' (e.g. bell)

3.2 KEEMIN AS A MECHANISM FOR FORMING COMPLEX VERBS

The Verb **keemin** provides a mechanism whereby a Complex Verb may be formed from a Noun Phrase Nucleus, from the classes manifesting such Noun Phrase Laterals as Pre-Direction (*D₁*), Post-Direction (*D₂*), and Person (*Pr*), from an Adverb, from an Adjunct, from a loan word, and from a Verb.

3.21 FROM A NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

There are a few special collocations of NOUN PHRASE NUCLEI + **keemin**:

bínim	'none'	binim keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be finished'
kaal foóng	'light weight'	kaal foóng kéemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be easy' (e. g. a short task)
mán	'child'	mán kéemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'bear a litter'
moók báán	} 'spitting place'	moók báán kéemin	} (<i>Pt</i>) 'despise'
dábán báán		dábán báán kéemin	
usaán báán		usaán báán kéemin	

However, any NOUN may precede **keemin**, the combination having the meaning 'act as a ---'. This involves both the sense of deputizing for another and the sense of pretending to be another as in a game or a play. The Noun as Adjunct is not followed by a Phrase Modifier.

áabén kéemán (my-mother I-will-be-doing) 'I'll be Mother'

kamókím kéemán (headman I-will-be-doing) 'I'll act as headman'

Quite rarely a Noun is reduplicated before **keemin**:

atúk	'part', 'half'	atúk átuk keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be half-hearted'
tib	'top'	tib tib keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'pile one on another'
binigok	'star', 'firefly' (-ok is a regular Noun suffix)	binig binig keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'glow'; (<i>Pt</i>) 'swing (firestick to keep it glowing)'

Also rarely an ADJECTIVE is reduplicated before **keemin**. Adjectives normally occur as Qualifiers following the Noun within a Noun Phrase Nucleus.¹⁰

asít 'raw', 'green' **asít asít keemin** (*Pi*) 'be not properly cooked'

katíb 'small' **katíb kátib keemin** (*Pi*) 'be half-hearted'

3.22 FROM A PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE OR POST-DEMONSTRATIVE

(a) A restricted Anuclear **soó** Phrase, consisting of a PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE plus the Accompaniment Indicator **soó** 'with', occurs with **keemin** meaning 'move ... a little'.¹¹ The Pre-Demonstrative normally occurs as the Pre-Direction Unit (*D*₁) within a Noun Phrase. These Complex Verbs are all Intransitive, and their Adjuncts are inseparable. The latter restriction is unusual with Adjuncts occurring with **keemin**.

yáng (*D*₁) 'along' **yáng soó kéemin** (*Pi*) 'move along a little'

iit (*D*₁) 'up' **iit soo keemin** (*Pi*) 'move up a little'

daák (*D*₁) 'down' **daák soó kéemin** (*Pi*) 'move down a little'

(b) A PRE-DEMONSTRATIVE, or a POST-DEMONSTRATIVE, which normally occurs as the Post-Direction Unit (*D*₂) in the Noun Phrase, may be reduplicated and followed by **keemin** to form a Complex Verb.¹² Unlike

the **soó** Phrase Adjuncts above, these reduplicated Adjuncts are separable as is usual before **keemin**. Reduplicated **yák** (*D1*) 'across' reduces to **yákák**, and reduplicated **yáng** (*D1*) 'along' reduces to **yángáng**, but the other forms remain two phonological words and are written as such. This series has the general meaning 'go repeatedly in a particular direction'. All of them are Motion Verbs, and may co-occur with a Destination Unit (*Dn*) in the Clause.

yáng	(<i>D1</i>) 'along'	yángáng keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along'
íít	(<i>D1</i>) 'up'	íít íít keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly up'
daák	(<i>D1</i>) 'down'	daák daák keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly down'
meéng	(<i>D1</i>) 'along here'	meéng meéng keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'come repeatedly along here'
keéng	(<i>D2</i>) 'along here'	keéng keéng keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along here'
kweéng	(<i>D2</i>) 'along there'	kweéng kweéng keemin	(<i>Pm</i>) 'go repeatedly along there'

As well as **keéng keéng keemin** as listed above, there is a special tonally contrastive form **keéng kééng keemin** meaning 'go somewhere or other nearby', 'wherever <he> is going'. Also, **yákák keemin**, without tonal change, has a second and more frequent meaning 'go to various places'.

3.23 FROM A PRONOUN

Those PRONOUNS of the **-tá** series which are non-directional may be reduplicated with the meaning 'excel', 'win'.¹³ The Complex Verbs which they form together with **keemin** are Intransitive. The reduplicated Pronoun as separable Adjunct agrees with the subject-person suffix of **keemin** and with the Person, if any, in the Subject Unit. This Person is usually manifested by an emphatic Pronoun, such as one of the **-kal** or **-sinon** series.

nítá	'I'	nítá nítá keéli	(<i>Pi</i>) 'I won'
kábtá	'you sing.'	kábtá kábtá keéláb	(<i>Pi</i>) 'you won'
ítá	'he'	ítá ítá keéla	(<i>Pi</i>) 'he won'
útá	'she'	útá útá keélú	(<i>Pi</i>) 'she won'

3.24 FROM AN ADVERB

Some of the ADVERBS, which normally manifest the Manner Unit, occur in reduplicated form as separable Adjuncts before **keemin**.⁶ The resultant Complex Verbs are all Intransitive.

akól	'slowly, gently'	akól ákol keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do carefully, slowly'
aaltamsó	'again'	aaltamsó aaltamsó keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do repeatedly'

eekub	'quickly'	eekub eekub keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'
fiyaab	'slowly'	fiyaab fiyaab keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do slowly'
oongífét	'quickly'	oongífét oongífét keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'
oongsákám	'quickly'	oongsákám oongsákám keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'
suúnkúb	'always'	suúnkúb suúnkúb keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'keep on always doing'
yúkúsákam	'quickly'	yúkúsákam yúkúsákam keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'
yúkút	'quickly'	yúkút yúkút keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'
yúut	'quickly'	yúut yúut keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'do quickly'

3.25 FROM AN ADJUNCT

An inseparable Adjunct of the type described in section 2 may occasionally occur reduplicated and separable before **keemin**. It is neither reduplicated nor separable before its usual Auxiliary Verb. There is no apparent change of meaning.

min kúunin	-	min min keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'smell', 'sniff'
fiít dákamin	-	fiít fiít keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'vibrate, be noisy', 'make it vibrate'
ilék dákamin	-	ilék ílek keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'encroach on'

3.26 FROM A LOAN WORD

The use of various word classes and various grammatical forms in Telefol as separable Adjuncts before **keemin** as a verbalizing mechanism has facilitated the adoption of loan words as Adjuncts before **keemin**.¹⁴ The forms borrowed, usually from Neo-Melanesian or English, may be either Nouns or Verbs in the source language.

béékkim keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'settle a debt'
bóolbol keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) '(water) boils'
faasim keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'not let <him> go'
sékel keemin	(<i>Pt</i>) 'weigh', 'measure'
síksik keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'be sick'
súkul keemin	(<i>Pi</i>) 'attend school'

3.27 FROM A VERB

There is a limited set of inseparable Adjuncts occurring with **keemin** which are derived from Verb stems by the addition of the suffix **-kán** 'remove'. All these derived Verbs are Transitive. Most of the source Verbs belong to one morphological class. There are two limited sets of special Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms that closely parallel these Adjuncts. Both are used in multi-clause collocations, one set having the overall meaning 'get', the other the overall meaning 'bring'.¹⁵

PROBABLE SOURCE VERB	ADJUNCT	MEANING OF ADJUNCT + KEEMIN AND TYPICAL OBJECTS
bíltomin 'push over (rotten tree or stump)'	bálkán } bálakán }	'push over (rotten tree or stump)', 'cut soft parts off (hard core of rotten log)', 'take hard crust off (dry ground)'
—	dálkán } dálakán }	'peel (skin)', 'take off (clothes, belt)', 'pick off (lice)', 'take (eggs from nest, animal from trap)'
dákamin 'pick (fruit), steal'	dákkán }	'remove (scaffolding, stones, eggs from nest, branches in the way, leeches, beans, pumpkin, stolen goods)', 'spend (year, month, week)'
dúkkomin 'remove (scaffolding, stones, branches in the way)'	dákakán }	
dúkamin 'take (it/him)'	dúbkán	'remove, pass (it/him)'
dulúkamin 'take (them)'	(dúkán)	'remove, pass (them)'
—	fálkán } fálakán }	'drag out (weeds from pool, belly fat from pig)'
fákamin 'pull off (branch or part of roof)', 'harvest (taro)'	fákkán } fákakán }	'strip (branches from log)', 'take out (part of wall, roof; taro, many of any garden produce)'
ímdúkamin 'take (them)'	ímkán	'remove, pass (them)'
kálamín 'pick (cucurbits)'	(kálakán)	'pick (cucurbits, fungi)'
kámdúkamin 'take (you)'	kámkán	'remove, pass (you)'
kúkamin 'take (IT/her)'	kúbkán	'remove, pass (IT/her)'
kulúkamin 'take (THEM)'	(kúkán)	'remove, pass (THEM)'
málamín 'pull out'	málkán } málakán }	'pull out (stone, tooth)', 'pick (banana from bunch)'
námdúkamin 'take (me)'	námkán	'remove, pass (me)'
sálamín 'pinch'	sílkán } sálakán }	'pull (a small sample off meat before it is shared around)'
tákamin 'distribute'	tákkán }	'distribute (pitpit leaves for ground-oven, part of load to carry)'; 'unstuck, remove (stain, clinging child)'
tákamin 'get (salt out of ashes)'	tákakán }	
—	tálkán } tálakán }	'take down (anything hanging up - clothes, bag of taro, bundle of taro sticks, smoked meat)'

PROBABLE SOURCE VERB	ADJUNCT	MEANING OF ADJUNCT + KEEMIN AND TYPICAL OBJECTS
úkamin 'cut (a piece) off'	úkkán }	'grab (arrows)', 'cut a piece off (cane, meat, fingernails)'
úkamin 'pick up, grab (bows and arrows)'	úkakán }	
úlamín 'take back', 'select'	úlkán } úlakán }	'pull out (newly-planted taro stick, stake, stick)'

3.3 REDUPLICATED VERB FORM + **KEEMIN**

Certain forms of many Verbs may be reduplicated before **keemin**. This reduplication usually signifies multiple action. Depending upon the particular Verb and the context, this may be either repeated action, or action upon a plural object.

dísálú (*Pt*) 'she scraped ash off (a taro)'

dísá dísá keélú (*Pt*) 'she scraped ash off several (taros)'

fuúbámin (*Pt*) 'thatch (roofing)'

fuúbá fuúbá keemin (*Pt*) 'thatch (roofing) often'

Reduplicated benefactive forms often have their normal significance, but for certain Verbs the reduplicated finite benefactive signifies reciprocal action.¹⁶

bóko bóko keemnúbá (*Pt*) 'he is always talking'

bokob' ée bokob' ée keemnúbá (*Ptb*) 'he is always telling him'

bítolá bítolá keélíb (*Pt*) 'they each cut (their hair)', 'they each had
(their hair) cut'

bitob' éelá bitob' éelá keélíb (*Ptb*) 'they cut each other's (hair)'

Where one and the same subject is involved in the multiple action, the reduplicated form is non-finite. Where more than one subject is involved in the action, the reduplicated form is finite, always containing a third person singular suffix, and usually the third person masculine singular. The equivalent feminine form occasionally occurs where all the participants are women. The Verb **keemin** always has a plural suffix of any person, not just third person, after reduplicated finite forms, and implies that the action is performed by each person. Thus non-finite **dálá** 'make' and finite **dálálá** 'he made' give:

dálá dálá keelí (*Pt*) 'I made some (ladders)'

dálá dálá keelúb (*Pt*) 'we made some (ladders)'

dálálá dálálá keelúb (*Pt*) 'we each made a (ladder)'

The aspect and interval suffixes on the reduplicated forms have the significance normal to them in the particular sequence involved.

bóko 'say and...' **bóko bóko keemin** (*Pt*) 'say it a few
times'

bákánbom	'while saying...'	bákánbom bákánbom keemin	(Pt) 'say it often'
bákánbii	'been saying and...'	bákánbii bákánbii keemin	(Pt) 'tell stories often'
bókolá	'he said and <they>...'	bókolá bókolá keemin	(Pt) 'each speak', 'discuss'
báka' balá	'while he is saying <they>...'	báka' balá báka' balá keemin	(Pt) 'all talk at once'

One large morphological class of Verbs has alternative stem forms in the Customary Continuative, one terminating in **VCám** and the other in **VCm** (**V** representing any vowel and **C** representing any consonant), e. g. **fufálám-in**, **fufálm-in** 'go round'. The punctiliar stem of these Verbs terminates in **VCá** in isolation, but in its reduplicated form up to three apparently free variants have been observed, terminating in **VCá**, **VC** with tonal sandhi, or **VC**. E. g.

fufalá fufalá keemin	} 'roll up'
fufál fufal keemin	
fufal fufal keemin	

3.4 MATCHED CLAUSES + KEEMIN

A similar type of Adjunct to the reduplicated Verb of section 3.3 above involves a pair of juxtaposed Clauses before **keemin**. The commonest combinations involve Motion Clauses signifying opposite directions. The matching of the two Clauses consists of their having identical syntactic structure and the same morphemic content except at some one point, where diverse morphemes occur. These are usually antonyms. Either the Verb stems in the Predicates may differ, or a pair of morphemes in one of the other clause-level units. The two Verbs in the Predicates are inflected identically, and show a similar range of inflections to the reduplicated forms of section 3.3.

uná (Pm: he-went) **talá** (Pm: he-came) **keemin** (Pm) '(people) mill around'

únánbii (Pm: going) **tálánbii** (Pm: coming) **keemin** (Pm) '(e.g. clothes on line) go, flap back and forth'

úne' bala (Pm: he-went-and) **téle' bala** (Pm: he-came-and) **keemin** (Pm) '(some) go and (some) come'

íft oó (Dn: up, Pm: return) **daák oó** (Dn: down, Pm: return) **keemin** (Pm) 'jump, bounce up and down' (e.g. exuberant child, ball)

yák úneba (O: across, Pt: he-ate) **meék úneba** (O: across-here, Pt: he-ate) **keemin** (Pt) 'eat two lots of food at once'

yák miít mâk úne (O: that kind, Pt: eat) **meék miít mâk úne** (O: this kind, Pt: eat) **keemin** (Pt) 'sample some of each kind of food'

koongeng úmkaa'eebe (*O*: pig, *Ptb*: he-is-greeting-it) **káyaameng úmkaa'eebe** (*O*: dog, *Ptb*: he-is-greeting-it) **keemin** (*Pt*) 'be friendly (to)' (lit. 'greet pigs and dogs' - an idiom)

3.5 CO-ORDINATED CLAUSES + KEEMIN

A sequence, usually a pair, of co-ordinated Clauses may occur as a complex Adjunct before **keemin**.¹⁷ The Predicates of these Clauses are usually Dependent Verbs, the action of which is simultaneous ('while..'). The Clauses are linked by the Connectives **ilé ± mínte** 'and' following the first and other non-final Clauses, and the Phrase Modifier **noo** 'also' following the Verb in the Predicate of the final Clause. The suffixes with **kee-** summarize the tenses and subject-person-numbers of the Predicates of the co-ordinated Clauses.

únáng' kálintem boóm' bululé mínte (*Pt*: she was not eating, and)
únáng' kálintem boóm' balá nóo (*Pt*: he was not eating also) **keébíb**
 (they-did) 'neither he nor she ate'

bóko' nama bínim ilé mínte (*Pt*: he never spoke, and) **úne' namá bínim noo**
 (*Pt*: he never ate also) **keebe** (he-is-doing) 'he is neither speaking nor eating'

weéng báka' balalé mínte (*O*: talk, *Pt*: he was talking, and) **meén sóok fáka' bulú nóo** (*O*: twine, *Pt*: she-was-making also) **kee' bilíb** (they-were-doing) 'he was talking while she was making twine'

weéng bákabomnululé (*O*: talk, *Pt*: she-is-talking, and-she) **meén sóok fákabom noo** (*O*: twine, *Pt*: making also) **keebo** (she-is-doing) 'she is talking while she makes twine'

únánbomnalalé mínte (*Pt*: he-is-eating, and-he) **weéng bákabom noo** (*O*: talk, *Pt*: talking also) **keebe** (he-is-doing) 'he is talking while he eats'

tísol fákaa' eebomnilibilé mínte (*O*: payment, *Pt*: they-are-collecting-for-him, and-they) **koong ung koob' ée noo** (*O*: pig, *Pt*: kill-for-him also) **keelibta** (they-did-and) 'they collected money and killed a pig for him...'

sookéng kále dáka' bululé mínte (they hung themselves and - an idiom)
ook íñe' bilíb nóo (*Dn*: river, *Pm*: they-went also) **keelibta** (they-did-and) 'some hung themselves and others jumped into the river...'

4. VERB PERIPHRASES

Several Verbs occur following other Verbs in periphrastic usages. The first part of a Periphrase is the appropriate form of any kind of Verb, including a Simple Verb, an Adjunct + Auxiliary, and a complex Adjunct + **keemin**. The second part of a Periphrase may only be a form

of one of the following Verbs: **keemin**, **nin**, **tébemin**, **koól-**, or a Motion Verb. The meanings which these Verbs have as Simple Verbs are lost in their usage as second part of a Periphrase. Instead they supplement in meaning the aspect suffix normally occurring with the first part, or they serve to carry suffixes when they follow non-finite Verb forms. The two parts of a Periphrase are inseparable. It is the first part, not the second, which normally occurs in the benefactive form in a Periphrase.

4.1 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF **KEEMIN**

The Verb Periphrases involving **keemin** 'do', 'be' may all occasionally occur with the Verb **keemin** replaced by **nin** 'be'.

4.11 CONTINUATIVE CUSTOMARY VERB + KUB + ANY CONTINUATIVE FORM OF KEEMIN implies a habitual action at the time indicated by the tense of **keemin**. The Phrase Modifier **kub** 'very', 'still' is integral to this Periphrase, the two parts of which are otherwise inseparable.

bákamin kub keemantémá 'he will always be talking'

bákaa'eemin kub keemantémá 'he will always be talking to him'

fuu'yeemin kub keemnúbú 'she cooks for him permanently'

únáng' kálin kub keemnúbú '(whenever) she eats'

4.12 NEGATIVE REPLY VERB + ANY FORM OF KEEMIN is equivalent to a negative Independent Verb of the same tense as the second part and the same aspect as the first part. The aspects of the first and second parts usually agree, but non-agreement has also been observed. This Periphrase is the usual way of negating a Dependent Verb.¹⁸ The benefactive is usually marked on the first part as in the other Periphrases of this section, but occasionally it appears on the second.

bókolintem keéla = bókolála 'he didn't talk'

bákamintem keemnúbá = bákánubála 'he never talks'

bokob' néelintem keéla or **bókolintem keeb' néelá = bokob' néelála** 'he didn't tell me'

únelintem keenalata ... 'he (went) without eating'

tilintem kee' naná 'he couldn't come'

4.2 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF **NIN**

The periphrastic usages of **nin** 'be' are distinguishable from Complementary Clauses by two things: (a) the two parts are inseparable, and (b) they have no transforms involving **keemin**.

4.21 CONTINUATIVE STEM + ALB<A> implies a recent action that was a lengthy process. The action may be either still progressing in the present, or already completed and recommenced in the present, depending upon the context. When preceded by an appropriate Time Unit

(*Ti*), this Periphrase conveys the idea of 'begin' or 'since'. It has a habitual meaning when it co-occurs with the Adverb **suúnkúb** 'always'.¹⁹

bákán álbá 'he talked at length'

báksaa'neem álbá 'he talked to me at length'

bákánbii álbá 'he talked at great length'

bákánbom álbá 'he talked at great length'

dook koótá (*Ti*: when) **bákán álbíb** (*Pt*: talking you-are) 'when did you start talking'

kutím míliliib koótá (*Ti*: dawn today) **kúbák koob'ée bákán álbá** (*Pt*: start-it talking he-is) 'he started talking at dawn' or 'he's been talking since dawn'

kutím koótá (*Ti*: this early morning) **tál'boómtá** (*Pm*: came-and-stayed-and) **okok keem álbúb** (*Pi*: working we-are) 'we've been working from early morning (till now)'

weéb mánánbii úkonbu koótá (*Ti*: when the rain stopped) **am koón** (*O*: roofing) **dúbák** (*Pt*: bring-it) **fuúbám álbá** (*Pt*: thatching he-is) 'he's been thatching the roof ever since the rain stopped'

4.22 CONTINUATIVE STEM + **BIITÁB<Á>** seems to be semantically equivalent to the above Periphrase. The form **biitáb<á>** 'be (there) a long time', 'stay (there) all day' comes from the Verb **nin** 'be'.

bákán bíitábá 'he talked at length'

4.23 Certain INDEPENDENT OR HETEROPERSONAL DEPENDENT FORMS of any Verb + **NALALÉ** or **NALÁTÁ** produce corresponding Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms with the same aspect, tense or interval, and subject-person-number value as the first part. When suffixed to Verb stems, **nalá** signifies Homopersonal Dependent third person singular masculine, but in this usage it has lost its third person singular masculine significance.

sina' nák' bilibilé 'they had been sleeping (there) and (someone else)...'

sina' nák' bilib nalalé 'they had been sleeping (there) and (they)...'

The range of Verb forms which may occur as the first part of this Periphrase are illustrated in the third person plural for **bákamin** 'say, tell':²⁰

INDEPENDENT ("open" tonal forms)	DEPENDENT
bákán' bilíb	bóko' boóm' bilíb
báká' nák' bilíb	bóko' boóm' silíb
bákánubíb	bákánbii' boóm' bilíb

INDEPENDENT ("open" tonal forms)

DEPENDENT

bákán' boómíb**bákánbi' boóm' silíb****bákánbom' boóm' bilíb****4.3 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF MOTION VERBS**

(a) All forms (but especially continuative forms) of **únemin** 'go' and **<kwééb> únemin** 'take it' following a continuative stem imply intensive duration. So also do continuative dependent forms of **ábemin** 'go, do abruptly' and **<kwééb> ábemin** 'take it'.²¹

bákán únánbe, bákán kwééb únánbe 'he is keeping on talking'
kanum unómnílibilé 'they keep on doing it and...'
bákán kwééb ábebomnalabilé 'you can talk all about...'
bákán ábe' bilibilé '(while) they were talking...'

Punctiliar forms of the Motion Verb following a continuative stem indicate that the continuous or repetitive action is a block or unit in time:

daám (O: fence) **fákán úná** (Pt: he was making) 'he was building the fence'

(b) Continuative forms of **tíñemin** 'walk', 'go past' following a continuative stem imply a distributive or repetitive action:

bákán tíínánbe 'he is telling everybody'
abán díim tíínánubá 'he laughs wherever he is', 'he laughs whatever he is doing'

(c) Continuative forms of **télemin** 'come', **<kwééb> télemin** 'bring it', **tébemin** 'appear', 'become', and **<kwééb> tébemin** (which has not been observed out of this context) imply an action involving a progression of events or an action that progresses from stage to stage, when they follow a continuative stem.

bákán tálánbe, bákán kwééb tálánbe, bákán tábánbe, bákán kwééb tábánbe
 'he is saying one thing after another', 'he is developing his theme'
oólán duléb tubulé 'she called out again and again and...'

Punctiliar forms of these Motion Verbs indicate that the progressive action is a block or unit in time, as in (a) above:

sáng úyó (O: story) **bákán tíse** (Pt: he told them for some time) 'he told a string of stories'

(d) The Motion Verb **yákák keemin** is a Complex Verb of the type described in section 3.22(b). In this periphrastic usage, where it follows a punctiliar stem, it has the meaning 'do repeatedly'.

dííng dáá yákák keemin 'wash many clothes'
bóko yákák keemin 'say it often'

(e) Another Complex Motion Verb involved in periphrasis is **uná talá keemin** '(people) mill around' (see section 3.4), or <kwééb> **uná talá keemin**. A continuative stem followed by this Verb emphasizes corporate action by a plural subject.

boómi áket (O: about it) **fúkún uná talá kee' bilíb** (Pt: they are thinking together) 'they are all thinking about it', 'they are pooling their thoughts on it'

am (O: house) **dínán kwééb uná talá kee' bulúb** (Pt: we are building together) 'we are building the house together'

The two parts of these Periphrases cannot be split without destroying their particular periphrastic meaning. Corresponding to all of these Periphrases there are morphologically identical non-periphrastic forms which are a sequence of Nuclei of two Predicates. In most utterances the linguistic context makes it plain whether the two Verbs comprise sequential Clauses or a Periphrase. For example, if the context mentions in a Time Unit or Manner Unit the duration, progression, or distribution of the action, the periphrastic meaning of the Motion Verb and its preceding Verb may be assumed. On the other hand, if the context contains a Destination Unit or another Motion Verb having the same subject, the normal meaning of the Motion Verb may be assumed.

4.4 PERIPHRASTIC USAGES OF **TÉBES<Á>**

4.41 CONTINUATIVE STEM + **TÉBES<A>**

One periphrastic usage of **tébemin** 'become', 'appear' has been described in section 4.3(c) above, where it behaves like a Motion Verb. In addition, a continuative stem followed by one of the Historic Past Punctiliar forms of **tébemin** implies a habitual action.²²

bákán tébesá 'he is always talking', 'he is talkative'

bítán tébesú 'she is always cutting her hair'

súuk (O: cigar) **dínán tébesá** (Pt: he is always making) 'he is always rolling cigars'

This active periphrastic usage contrasts with the non-predictable Phrase Idioms described in section 2.4. The latter involve the punctiliar stems of just a few Verbs, mostly of one morphological class, and the meaning changes are unpredictable. The periphrastic usage involves any continuative stem, and the meaning is predictable.

4.42 REDUPLICATED STEM + **TÉBES<Á>**

Either the punctiliar or continuative stem of any Verb may be reduplicated and followed by the Historic Past Punctiliar (stative) forms of **tébemin**. The meaning of the resultant forms is predictable,

and involves frequent or habitual repetition of the action. There is no tonal sandhi in the reduplication. This Periphrase contrasts in several respects with the reduplicated idioms of section 2.4, whose meanings are unpredictable, whose forms show tonal sandhi, and whose second part may be any form of **tébemin**.

bító bító tébesá, bítán bítán tébesá 'he is always cutting (hair)',
'he is always having (his hair) cut'

ú ú tébesú, úm úm tébesú 'she is always planting'

fungó fungó tébesá 'he is always resting'

ífo ífo tébesáb 'you are always serving (food)'

bakélá bakélá tébesá 'he is always splitting (wood)'

4.5 PERIPHRASTIC USAGE OF **KOÓL**-<**ANTÉMÁ**>

The Verb **koól**-<**antémá**> only occurs in the punctiliar aspect, and it does not occur by itself as a Simple Verb. Any punctiliar form of it occurs preceded by a punctiliar Verb stem to form a Periphrase which seems to emphasize the reality or completion of the action. Like all other Periphrases, this one may manifest benefactive modification of the first part, but the benefactive may alternatively occur with the second part.

bóko koóla (= **bókolá**) 'he spoke'

bokob' née koóla, bóko koób' néelá (= **bokob' néelá**) 'he told me'

ang koóla 'he killed him'

duúla koólab ... '(when) you have butchered it...'

ilet (O: bier) **dálá koónílibilé** (Pt: they made and) 'they made the bier and...'

A continuative stem terminating in **-bii** followed by **koól**-<**antémá**> implies a plural object or a multiple action, and sometimes also requires a plural subject:

bákánbii koóbú 'she talked about several things', 'she said it several times'

Most of the reduplicated punctiliar stems listed in section 2.4 may also be followed by **koól**-<**antémá**>:

duúl dúul koólí 'I cut (the meat) into little pieces'

Whereas all the reduplicated forms in section 2.4 are Intransitive and agentless, this form is Transitive and implies multiple action.

5. NESTING

It is possible for two or more of the types of Verb complexity described in this paper to co-occur. A similar situation occurs involving Noun Phrase nuclear expansions, and this has been described elsewhere.²³

(a) The primary or innermost layer of complexity is that described in section 2 and the earlier part of section 3 (i.e. 3.1, 3.2). It involves Adjunct + Auxiliary collocations that are static.

(b) Secondary expansion involves Verb reduplication + **keemin** as described in section 3.3, and any Simple Verb or Adjunct + Auxiliary may be expanded in this way. So may most of the types of Adjunct + **keemin** of sections 3.1 and 3.2. This secondary Verb reduplication usually involves both parts of the original Complex Verb. Alternatively, the first part may often be single and only the second part reduplicated.

diíng dákamin 'wash clothes'	diíng dáá diíng dáá keemin diíng dáá dáá keemin	} 'wash lots of clothes' (2.1, 3.3) ²⁴
dúb díimin 'hang it up'	dub díi dúb díi keemin	'hang it up often' (2.2, 3.3)
kan keemin 'tidy up'	kan kee kan kee keemin kan kee kee keemin	} 'be always tidying up' (3.1, 3.3)
faasim keemin 'keep <him> home'	faasim kee faasim kee keemin faasim kee kee keemin	} 'be always keeping <him> home' (3.26, 3.3)

Most Complex Verbs involving reduplication are not capable of further reduplication of the 3.3 type. Exceptions to this general rule are the types described in sections 3.23 and 3.25.

úta úta keelú 'she won'	úta úta kee úta úta kee keemnúbú	'she always wins' (3.23, 3.3)
min min keemin 'sniff'	min min keebii min min keebii keemin	'be always sniffing' (3.25, 3.3)
fiít fiít keemin 'vibrate'	fiít fiít kee fiít fiít kee keemin	'be always vi- brating' (3.25, 3.3)

(c) Periphrasis constitutes tertiary expansion, and may affect any Simple Verb, or any Complex Verb not already involving tertiary expansion.

tál tál nín kub boómú	'it is always coming' (3.3, 4.11)
diíng dáá yákák keemin	'wash many clothes' (2.1, 3.22(b), 4.3(d))
koólá tébelintem keenululé	'it (fell) without getting smashed' (2.4, 4.12)
koólá tébe koólú	'it smashed' (2.4, 4.5)
bám dáá bám dáá keem tébesá	'he always recovers' (2.1, 3.3, 4.41)
áábén kee áábén kee tébesú	'she is always playing "Mother"' (3.21, 4.42)

faasim kee kee keem álbú 'she is always keeping <him> at home for a long time' (3.26, 3.3, 4.21)

(d) A fourth but rarer layer of expansion consists of the reduplication of the first part of certain Complex Verbs involving primary complexity or tertiary expansion, but not Complex Verbs involving secondary expansion. The second part remains unchanged. Although in mutually exclusive distribution with the type of reduplication described in section 3.3, this expansion contrasts with it in applying to Periphrases, and in the reduplication of the first part only.

yáng soó keemin

'move along a little' (3.22(a))

yáng soó yáng soó keemin

'move along little by little'

faasim keemin

'not let <him> go' (3.26)

faasim faasim keemin

'continually not let <him> go'

dúbkán keemin

'remove it' (3.27)

dúbkán dúbkán keemin

'often remove it'

bókolintem keéla

'he didn't talk' (4.12)

bókolintem bókolintem keéla

'he didn't say (those things)'

bákán únánbe

'he is keeping on talking' (4.3)

bákán bákán únánbe

'he is keeping on talking'

bítán tébesú

'he is always cutting (his hair)' (4.41)

bítán bítán tébesú

'he is always cutting (his hair)' (4.42)

(e) Only one change in the order of nesting has been observed. Periphrases involving **koól-<antémá>** (section 4.5), though themselves tertiary expansions, are primary for purposes of further secondary and tertiary expansion.

bóko koó bóko koó keelabta 'you tell (the stories)' (4.5, 3.3)

bakél bákel koólintem keenululé 'it (fell) without getting smashed' (4.5, 5(d), 4.12)

6. PHRASE MODIFIERS

The only Laterals following the Nucleus of a Verb Phrase are Phrase Modifiers (*Mp*). Phrase Modifiers may also terminate Noun Phrases.²⁵ Those occurring in Verb Phrases and Noun Phrases as Predicates are:

bá	'not', 'don't'
bínim	'not', 'never'
úmak	'any'
tab	'perhaps'
noo	'also'

More than one of these may co-occur in a single Phrase. However, **bá** and **bínim** do not co-occur. Otherwise they are listed in their preferred order of occurrence.

Although **úmak** and **tab** occur freely, the others are restricted in their occurrence. The Modifiers **bá** and **bínim** normally only follow the Abilitative and Customary Continuative forms of the Verb. With the Abilitative either **bá**, **bínim**, or the suffixial negative **-ál** may occur, all three having the same meaning, 'not'. The suffix is, however, rare with the Abilitative.

bókó' namá bá = bókó' namá bínim = bókó' namálá 'he couldn't talk'

With the Customary Continuative form of the Verb **bá** and **bínim** contrast in meaning, and the suffix **-ál** does not occur. **bákamin bá** may only have a second person subject, and this is the form used for negative imperative, 'Don't talk!'. **bákamin bínim** may have any person as subject, and the meaning is negative customary, '<he> does not talk', '<he> never talks'. All other Independent Verb forms are very occasionally negated by **bá** or **bínim** instead of the usual suffix **-ál**. Sometimes the Modifier **bá** also redundantly occurs following a Verb already containing the negative suffix **-ál**, the meaning being an intensified negative.

The Modifier **noo** 'also' only occurs with the Predicate of the last of a set of co-ordinated Clauses.

NOTES

1. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea. The present paper is one of a series being written on Telefol syntax, and is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. The author is indebted to Karl J. Franklin and Rosemary Young for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and to Alan Healey for the elicitation of data and for checking the manuscript.

2. In this outline statement of Verb morphology no attempt is made to list all the affixes. The Verb morphology is to be described in detail in Alan Healey, "Telefol Morphology".

3. For tenses see Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Clause Structure", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.3, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Paper No.5*, Canberra, 1965, pp.15-18 (henceforth referred to as T.C.S.), section 2.4; for subject suffixes see T.C.S. section 2.1.

4. The Quotative Verb **akan' kalin** loses its distinctive grammatical character as well as its meaning when it occurs as an Auxiliary. In particular, it occurs in the benefactive form as an Auxiliary, but never otherwise. See Phyllis M. Healey, "Teleéfoól Quotative Clauses", *Papers in New Guinea Linguistics No.1, Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series A - Occasional Papers, No.3*, Canberra, 1964, pp.27-34.

5. There are also a number of separable Adjuncts that occur with **dákamin** and other Auxiliaries. These forms may co-occur in the Clause with an Object Unit as may inseparable Adjuncts, but they are occasionally followed by Noun Phrase Laterals such as Person (*Pr*: **úyó** 'it') and Phrase Modifier (*Mp*: **kub** 'still', 'only', 'just', **úmak** 'any'). Very rarely they also may be separated from the following Verb by an Adverb as Manner Unit. In these respects they resemble the separable Adjunct before **keemin** (section 3). They include:

malánéng dákamin	(<i>Pi</i>)	'shuffle'
sá dákamin	(<i>Pi</i>)	'have illicit relations'
tiin dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>)	'notice', 'watch for'
úmtál dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>)	'feel (unpleasant sensation)', 'suffer'
yukuút dákamin	(<i>Pt</i>)	'steal'

The customary Continuative form of the Verb, terminating in **-in**, has been used as the citation form of all Verbs throughout the paper.

6. Adverbs are described in T.C.S. section 1.3.
7. There are a number of sets of object prefixes. Four representative sets are listed in T.C.S. section 2.2.
8. **dúb'kaákamin** 'let him go', 'leave him' might have been included in this list, as it contains a phonological juncture. However, it is written as one word since there is no Verb **kaákamin** occurring elsewhere as do other Verbs in this list.
9. The distinction between the types of Complex Verb described in sections 2 and 3 is not completely clear-cut, as section 2 has mostly inseparable Adjuncts with a residue of separables (see Note 5), while section 3 has mostly separables but also a few inseparables. Section 3, of course, involves only the Verb **keemin** as second part, while section 2 involves several Verbs excluding **keemin**.
- Another problem is the ill-defined distinction between an Adjunct and a Complement Unit (Co) preceding **keemin**. Many of the Intransitive Complex Verbs listed in section 3 could conceivably be re-analyzed as Co + Pc, though Co has not been observed to contain the wide variety of forms which have been subsumed under Adjunct here in section 3. Such a re-analysis is not possible for the Transitive and Motion Complex Verbs of section 3, or for any of the Complex Verbs of section 2. The Complement is described in Phyllis M. Healey, "Telefol Noun Phrases", *Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Series B - Monographs, No.4*, Canberra, 1965 (hereafter referred to as T.N.P.), section 3.25.
10. Adjectives are described in T.N.P. section 1.22.
11. Pre-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section 2.12. The **soó** Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 3.23.
12. Post-Demonstratives are described in T.N.P. section 2.15.
13. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16. The directional Pronouns are **keétá, koótá, beétá, boótá**.
14. The majority of borrowed Nouns and Verbs appear to function as Nouns, the usual Noun Phrase Laterals potentially occurring with them. They have therefore been analyzed as Complement (Co), and **keemin** following them then becomes Complementary Predicate (Pc). Some of these are:

bábtisim (úyó) keemin	'present oneself for baptism'
bééten (úyó) keemin	'pray'
kílisten (úyó) keemin	'become a Christian'
koóbbul (úyó) keemin	'be made a corporal'
okok (úyó) keemin	'work', 'be employed'
úlotu (úyó) keemin	'attend church'

15. The sets meaning 'get' and 'bring' are to be described in another paper on sentence structure.
16. The normal meaning of benefactive forms is discussed in T.C.S. section **2.3**.
17. Clause sequences are to be discussed in another paper on sentence structure.
18. Dependent Verbs are discussed in T.C.S. sections **1.2** and **4**.
19. See T.C.S. section **2.4** for information on other habitual forms.
20. The third person plural morphemes are **-íb** and **-ilíb**. The Independent forms are all continuative, and are present, recent habitual, past habitual, and timeless habitual respectively. The Dependent forms all involve a time interval.
21. **<kwééb>** represents the limited set of special Homopersonal Dependent Verb forms meaning 'bring', 'take' (see section **3.27**). The commonest are: **kwééb**, **dééb** 'bring it'; **kuléb**, **duléb** 'bring them'.
22. See T.C.S. section **2.4** for information on other habitual forms.
23. Noun Phrase nuclear expansions are described in T.N.P. section **1.27**.
24. In the examples in this section the types of expansion are indicated by their section numbers in this paper, arranged in the order in which the processes have been applied.
25. Phrase Modifiers in Noun Phrases are described in T.N.P. section **2.17**. The only other Phrase Modifier, **kub** 'only', 'just', 'still', 'very', occurs at the end of Noun Phrases and after a separable Adjunct in a Complex Verb Phrase, as in section **3**. It does not occur at the end of a Verb Phrase.

